



A STATISTICAL STUDY

OF THE

DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT AND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

IN THE

BOROUGHS OF MANHATTAN AND BROOKLYN
NEW YORK CITY

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FOREWORD

Out of the slums comes crime. There are those who, accepting the slums as a necessary and in many cases profitable evil, would lay the blame upon the broad shoulders of poverty. There are students of criminology who often scoff at the theory that the slum in itself has anything to do with the development of the criminal and they claim that only poverty or a diseased mind can be held to account for the ever swelling prison population of the United States. I wonder if these gentlemen have ever been down into the slums of New York. I wonder if they have ever wandered through the narrow streets on a hot July night, canyon-like with the five, six and even seven story walkups towering up on each side, denying to those who live in their shadows even that which has always been free, a glance at the heavens and some air. I wonder if they have entered one of these so-called dwellings and had the stench of years, cooked by three or four days of a ninetydegree temperature, drive them back into the comparatively sweet air. I wonder if it is not more than just poverty that drives the people in this environment to crime. boys and girls living under such conditions, and there are at least a million of them in New York City, must get out. It is not just the pangs of hunger that urge them on. It is the dirty, rotten, stinking life which surges all around them, that forces them out. From their early childhood the ordinary canons of morals and decency are of necessity

denied them. Cleanliness and a certain privacy necessary to an individual pride is impossible and these denials, coupled with a more than understandable desire to free themselves from their environment, would be sufficient to lead anyone into the somewhat romantic paths of crime.

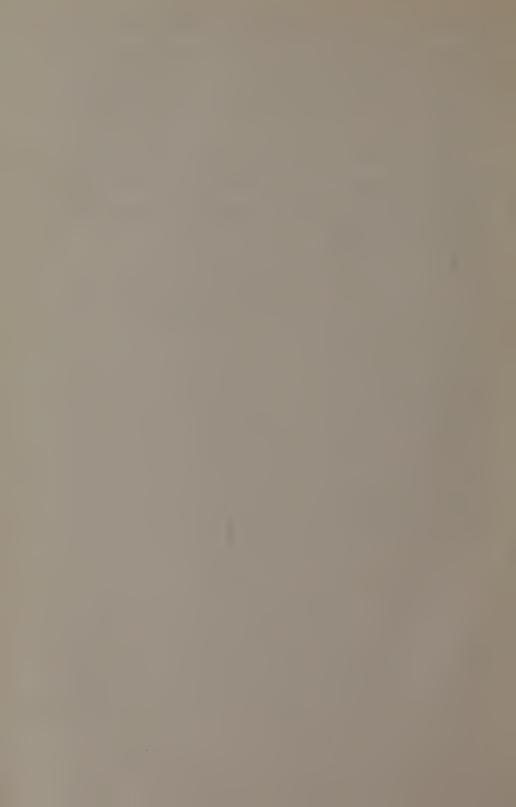
This report then is merely a confirmation of what those who have labored so hard in its making have always believed. The New York City Housing Authority well knew that no investigation of the slum conditions of its city would be complete without a thorough survey of the crime in those slums, in comparison with the crime in other areas. As Chairman of the Authority I asked Mr. Bernard Botein, for some years an assistant district attorney of New York; Mr. Irving W. Halpern, chief of the Probation Department of the Court of General Sessions; and Mr. John Stanislaus, his assistant, to undertake the most comprehensive and complete crime survey ever made in the history of the City of New York. One hundred and seventy carefully chosen workers from the Works Division of the Department of Public Welfare were placed at their disposal. Several weeks were utilized in training them and the result of their efforts is this report.

To me falls the privilege not only of thanking them for their indefatigable efforts and the contribution of their unusual talents, but of presenting to the public the result of their work - namely, the most thorough crime report of New York City that has ever been published. It

is my honor to have sponsored it; beyond that I did nothing. To Mr. Botein, Mr. Halpern, Mr. Stanislaus and the loyal workers, the people of the City and all those interested in the study of criminology owe a real debt of gratitude.

To me at least they have proved one thing conclusively; where there is real liberty there is but little crime - but there is no use in talking of liberty to those who live in the slums.

LANGDON W. POST
CHAIRMAN, NEW YORK CITY HOUSING
AUTHORITY



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A request gave origin to this study. What body it possesses was built out of statistics. What considerations determined its character and the limitations upon its scope this introduction will explain.

Archaic dwellings had been slated for demolition. Before this could be done the slum terrain had to be surveyed, both in its social and its physical features. For the slum, as anyone must know who sees it whole and steadily, is not one but many problems.

Perception of this led the Hon. Langdon W. Post, Chairman of the Housing Authority of the City of New York, to institute a series of slum surveys. One was to bring the prevalence of crime and juvenile delinquency under statistical measurement. The ground, it is true, had been traversed before. A reading of the reports, however, showed that previous surveys had differed in scale and objective. Moreover, the findings were not all applicable to the areas marked for clearance. The open course therefore was to survey them.

As much was appreciated by Commissioner Post, who requested the Probation Department of the Court of General Sessions and Assistant District Attorney Bernard Botein to undertake such a survey. The better to facilitate its planning, a Committee thereupon was formed consisting of Irving W. Halpern, Chief Probation Officer as Chairman, John N. Stanislaus, Probation Officer, Court of General Sessions and Bernard Botein, Assistant District Attorney, New York County.

The committee welcomed the opportunity for service, deeming it a privilege to aid in so worthy a project as Slum Clearance.

We believe that the benefits inevitably to flow therefrom will reach directly into the sphere of crime treatment and prevention. Action merely within that sphere is insufficient to cope with so many sided a problem as crime. The action that converges upon it from every quarter of the community, alone can insure its more effective solution.

The survey thus initiated fitted in with the program of the Civil Works Administration to staff socially useful projects, thereby insuring workers in sufficient numbers for the task ahead. The organization and direction of the staff were entrusted to Mr. John N. Stanislaus who was detailed for that purpose by the Probation Department of the Court of General Sessions. Working quarters were provided by the Tenement House Department in its Brooklyn office.

With a few exceptions, the staff was inexperienced in criminology and social research work. Instruction thus became a necessary prelude to any operations. The task, however, was speeded up by the intelligence and interest displayed by many workers who were assigned to specific duties on the basis of aptitude. To ascertain this, a statement setting forth educational qualifications, specialized abilities and previous business experience was requested from each worker. The personnel numbered one hundred and seventy at one time.

to narrow the survey both in range and content. Personnel was the first. Trained research workers were lacking. Remuneration for the staff was on a relief basis, thereby creating the impression, though not held by many, that the survey was merely camouflaged relief work. Incentive to effort, therefore, depended largely upon interest in the work and personal pride in achievement.

Time was the second and most compelling limitation. Alike it involved working hours, and the period allowed for the survey. The working hours, as already stated, had been curtailed. More time accordingly had to be allowed for transcribing data from police blotters and court records, and for the subsequent hand tabulation of statistics.

The third circumstance was the data. Concededly the best would be a rate study of crime and delinquency for a given period of years; - five, for example. A period like this would furnish a more adequate index to the constancy of crime and delinquency in slum areas. The data necessary for such an extended period, however, could not be accumulated within the time limitations of the survey. Only did they allow of a one year study.

The year 1930 was selected for two reasons. The statistical findings could be correlated directly with census figures for population. The other reason was the belief that the full impact of the depression had not been felt until about the latter part of the year selected. Uncertainty as to how much of the crime statistically shown was attributable to depression conditions thereby would be somewhat minimized.

Even for the study of a one year period, the data had to be gathered from many sources. A study in distribution obviously is based on the residence of offenders. The addresses of those arrested were procurable only from the precinct blotters. Visits also had to be made to the various courts for data on those convicted. Otherwise such data would not be obtainable in the form desired. The more extensive the data sought, the longer would be the time required for their transcription.

The practical choice, then, lay in limitation of the

type of data to be secured. Necessity also was given to this choice by the unfamiliarity of the staff with court records. Absolute reliance, it was soon found, could not be placed on their ability to distinguish between offenses too trivial to be transcribed and those recordable, despite detailed instructions previously given on this point. The alternative was to transcribe all and subsequently to eliminate the triviata. As is evident, the process proved a time consuming one.

<u>Character of Study.</u> The present one, in view of the cireumstances cited, is limited to a statistical study. As such, it makes no pretense to furnish more than an index of crime and juvenile delinquency in substandard areas. Statistics, after all, only measure volume. They do not and cannot explain crime causation.

Any study of crime, whether in the slums or in the suburbs, must begin with the individual. Otherwise how explain certain obvious facts. The fact, for instance, that of two given individuals within the same family, one is an honest citizen and the other a criminal. Another fact equally to be explained, is that while a considerable number of slum dwellers may commit crimes, the remainder do not. The neighborhood environment of all is the same. The answer, of course, is the individual.

The realistic necessity for individual ease studies does not preclude the use of statistics. The value of these as indicia is immeasurable. Only as we have these indices in ever increasing numbers, can we form a correct estimate of the crime problem. The innumerable factors it involves, even in the case of a single delinquent, is best illustrated by case study.

A number have been included in this volume. Taken

from the files of the Probation Department of the Court of General Sessions, they were selected both on the basis of the offender's residence in the areas studied and because of the social situations they so graphically illustrate. Each further illustrates the practical value of the case method approach in studying delinquency, whether of an adult or a juvenile.

Areas Studied. The areas studied in this volume are those considered to be substandard by the Slum Clearance Committee. The survey committee, however, believe that slum boundaries like divisions in history, are necessarily arbitrary. Especially so when elements other than physical ones like housing are up for appraisal. The sections designated unquestionably merit clearance. Any area, in fact, where people are housed in a manner beneath the dignity of human beings demands clearance.

A glance at the spot maps accompanying this study will show that areas of crime and juvenile delinquency do not always coincide with those chalked for clearance. The better to make this evident, a specific area was added to the thirteen others surveyed. The territory embraced therein is bounded by Fifth and Eighth Avenues, and extends northward from One Hundred and Tenth to One Hundred and Twenty Fifth Streets. For purposes of reference, it has been numbered Area 8A on the maps and in statistical tables. The data pertaining to it have been included with those on slum areas.

The reasons underlying its use as a sample here deserve mention. The committee professes no technical acquaintance with the structural aspects of housing in that area. Ample evidence abounds of overcrowding, with its invariable concomitants, street congestion and inadequate

recreational facilities. Police, court records and the testimony of social workers all confirm the fact that the section is prolific in behavior and social problems.

Any further explanation of this study would be superfluous. The pages which follow, as also the maps, tables and visualization charts, are the best possible help for its evaluation. No effort has been spared to make it as complete and as accurate statistically as time and human fallibility would permit. Anything beyond the scope set, was impractical of attainment for the reasons already outlined.

A more specialized study would require an extended time allowance. The limitations of the present best prove that large-scaled studies are as needed as they are aids to a better knowledge of crime. Crime, after all, is not merely one aspect of the slum situation, but is itself a problem nation-wide in its spread.

Acknowledgements. This study would have been impossible without the generous interest and practical assistance of many persons and agencies. Consideration of space alone prevents mention of all separately. The indebtedness of the committee to each is herewith acknowledged.

A particular debt of gratitude is due Commissioner Post for making possible both the study and its publication. The interest which he and the members of the Slum Clearance Committee and the Housing Authority of the City of New York have taken in it is deeply appreciated.

To the following, sincere thanks are extended for the use of facilities and generous cooperation in other ways:

Commissioner John F. O'Ryan and Chief Inspector Lewis Valentine of the Police Department; the Hon. Algernon I. Nova,

Judge Kings County Court; the Hon. Frederic Kernochan, Chief Justice of the Court of Special Sessions; the Hon. James McDonald, Chief Magistrate, City Magistrates Courts; Hon. William C. Dodge, District Attorney of New York County; Mr. Adolphus Ragan, Director of Administration, Domestic Relations Court.

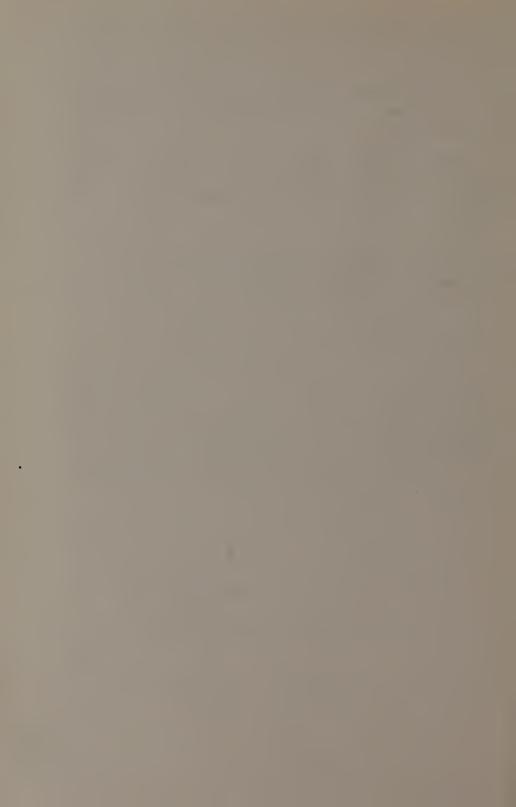
Equally sincere thanks are due to Miss Jane Hoey, Acting Director, Mrs. Sophia M. Robison and Miss Christine Kinsman of the Welfare Council for helpful suggestions and facilities.

The Committee takes this opportunity to acknowledge both the assistance of the Probation Department and the social vision of the Honorable, the Judges of the Court of General Sessions, which led to its creation and maintenance in a manner conducive to increased usefulness.

Grateful acknowledgement is hereby made to the various publishers for permission to quote from their publications.

The debt to the survey staff is necessarily great. This volume would be incomplete without their help, often given at the expense of time and personal convenience. The Committee extend their sincere thanks to every member of the staff for invaluable assistance and interest in furthering this study.

Irving W. Halpern
John N. Stanislaus
Bernard Botein



CHAPTER ONE

THE SLUM AND CRIME

The slum and the delinquent are vivid reminders of the gaps in our social progress. The best accountancy will fail to compute in dollars and cents the enormous economic drain each represents. However varied, the expedients adopted to stop this waste are at best only repair work and hence a negative economy. The positive, it is now realized, is to be had only by striking at the source rather than in merely repairing the damage. Slum clearance and crime prevention programs alike reflect this more realistic attitude.

The slum is a common meeting ground for the two programs. As social reflexes, the same conditions which make slums are often present in delinquent careers. Bad housing, low income levels or poverty itself, the weakened grip of regulatory institutions like the family, objectionable groupings, unwholesome or inadequate recreational outlets are but some. The full meaning of the slum and crime will only reach the mind in a confused form unless all these situations are understood, separately and clearly. Even then the delinquent still remains to be studied as a person.

Explanations of crime must go outside its purely legal aspects, since science forbids the intelligent inquirer to forget its social nature. The person, the situation and the interaction between them, constitute crime in its social sense. There is nothing sentimental about such a viewpoint. It is common sense alone which compels us to view crime as a social problem which must be approached scientifically. Like a released shutter, the scientific approach allows daylight to reach the hidden

motives which condition delinquent behavior.

A scientific approach to the slum is equally illuminating. Few problems have engendered more misconceptions. Thinking on the slum, for instance, frequently freezes into the conviction that crime is its only output. The conviction and its implication that environment alone makes a dclinquent are scientifically untenable. Were such the case, then Park Avenue would be a paradise and a penthouse there, insurance against misbehavior.

The belief that when slums are abolished, all crime will ccase automatically is likewise a fallacy. Demolishing the slum unquestionably will reduce delinquency. The prediction that it will do away with it entirely, utterly ignores the personal element in crime. The same outcome has been predicted for the abolition of capital. Much room for doubt as to so Utopian a prediction remains after we consider the result of the Soviet experiment in this respect. (1)

Persons, not places, engineer burglaries, perpetrate robberies and commit murders. As a place, the slum is alike the by-product of changes in the economic structure and of social hindsight. An instance of these changes, one that is traditionally cited, is the Industrial Revolution. Along with great prosperity it produced great poverty and the slum. This historical fact, combined with current experience, should indicate forcefully that most slum conditions are at root the resultant of larger social and economic forces. The conclusion is crystal clear. These forces also should be controlled if the slum is to be blotted out permanently.

⁽¹⁾ cf. Boris Brasol, The Elements of Crime, Oxford University Press, New York, 1932, p. 1x., for a discussion of these points.

An attempt will be made here to summarize some of the situations that partially account for the prevalence in the slum of crime and juvenile delinquency. The attempt should serve also to explain the viewpoints governing the survey and to aid the reader in interpreting its findings. Acknowledged authorities are cited in order to illustrate expert thought on a point at issue.

The Slum: An Area of Minimum Choice. The slum, as conceived by sociologists, is a natural, an interstitial or an area of minimum choice. All three designations ultimately repose on the idea of social disorganization, as opposed to plan and solidarity. The disorganization is seen readily in bad housing, poverty and dependency, overcrowding within and congestion outside the home, and higher incidence rates for disease, crime and juvenile delinquency.

Economic pressures and social selection combine to make the slum a natural area. The first is best instanced by the familiar combination of low income and low rentals. Due to necessity, many have no alternative but to reside in substandard areas. As much is implied by McKenzie, who thus defines the slum:

"The slum is an area of minimum choice. It is the product of compulsion rather than design. The slum, therefore, represents a homogeneous collection as far as economic competency is concerned, but a most heterogeneous aggregation in all other respects." (2)

The foregoing gives a broader perspective of the slum than most definitions. It is often forgotten that the

⁽²⁾ R.D. McKenzie. The Scope of Human Ecology, in the Urban Community, ed. by E.W. Burgess, University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1926, p. 180.

slum is the home of a large law-abiding population. The same economic pressures that compel people to live in it, act also to keep them there. At no time is this more apparent than during economic upheavals. A world depression has thrust aside the Darwinian theory of the weak falling by the wayside as the only explanation for economic incompetence and poverty. The disabilities occasioned by depression have reduced thousands to a slum level of existence; - thereby proving that poverty is not an exclusive product of the slum but that the slum is usually its end result.

Cultural groups best exemplify social selection, the second force operative in natural areas. Groups of this kind are built up from such elements as a common racial origin, language, traditions and folkways. A large number, those with immigrant backgrounds especially, prefer to remain within the orbit of their own cultural group. Change would wrench them from the only social moorings they possess in a land different from that of their origin. Change, moreover, would necessitate new adaptations for which they may have neither the desire nor the initiative, nor even yet the means. The fact that such cultural groups so often remain in the slum is further explainable by Shulman's conception of it as "an area of simple living." He thus describes the slum:

"It is an area in which rentals and foodstuffs are relatively lower, allowing people to live on a much lower income than could be lived on elsewhere in the city. Sanitary restrictions are fewer and manners more lax than elsewhere. There is no doubt that the slum is a culture area far below the standards of that which is best in our

Social selection works similarly to make the slum a habitat for asocial groupings. Cultural levels and living standards, as Shulman has noted, are lower. There is neither neighborhood solidarity in the community sense, nor that strongly organized group opinion which frequently acts like a brake upon individual misbehavior. Attitudes, either of apathy or indifference, toward acceptable modes of behavior and individual delinquencies are common. The criminally inclined, in consequence, find a greater leeway and a safer hideout in the slum than elsewhere.

It is this presence of the law-abiding and the criminally minded that gives the slum a distinctively heterogeneous character. In view of this, any broad statement about the criminality of all slum dwellers would be as inaccurate as it is manifestly unjust to the law-abiding populace. The fact that the slum is a delinquency area is attributable in part to its being an area of minimum choice and also to the social disintegration which occurs in such an area.

The Stum: A Delinquency Area. Studies in this, other cities and abroad indicate forcefully that the slum is a locus of adult crime and juvenile delinquency. Where the studies are incomplete, it is in understating the facts. Obviously only apprehended delinquents can be enumerated. No estimate can be given of unapprehended offenders whose number unquestionably would swell the totals.

The substandard areas have been ascertained to contain a greater percentage of delinquents per one thousand

⁽³⁾ Harry M. Shulman. A Study of Problem Boys and their Brothers. A Report of the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime. N.Y. State Crime Commission, Albany, N.Y. 1929, p. 18.

population than held true in non-slum sections. The trend, which is neither unique nor insignificant, is wholly in keeping with findings in other cities. The conclusion to be drawn is precisely the one which Shaw and his associates deduced from their Chicago survey. As stated by them:

"The areas in which the greatest concentrations and highest rates are found have many characteristics which differentiate them from the outlying residential communities. As indicated previously, these areas are in process of transition from residence to business and industry and are characterized by physical deterioration, decreasing population and the disintegration of the conventional neighborhood culture and organization." (4)

Noteworthy is the reference to physical deterioration. Wherever it characterizes an area, delinquency rates are invariably high. Elmer noticed this in his Minneapolis-St. Paul Survey. (5) The other cities studied by Shaw and McKay, - Philadelphia, Scattle, Cleveland, Birmingham, Denver and Richmond, showed a like situation. (6) New York is no exception. During a survey here in 1930 by the New York State Crime Commission, Shulman ascertained what Shaw had discovered in Chicago, and what delinquency studies in any large city reveal with striking uniformity - the fact that a deteriorated is also a delinquency area.

⁽⁴⁾ Clifford R. Shaw, et. al. Delinquency Areas. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1929. p. 204.

⁽⁵⁾ Manuel C. Elmer, Maladjustment of Youth in Relation to Density of Population. Publication of the American Sociological Society, Chicago 1925. Vol. 20, pp 138-140.

⁽⁶⁾ Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay. Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. Reports on the Causes of Crime, Washington, D. C. 1931. Vol.11, pp. 140-188.

The findings of the State Crime Commission's survey are pertinent to the present study. A large percentage of the 16 to 20 age group of delinquents, to which the Crime Commission's survey had been confined, resided in certain health areas. Many of these are contained in whole or in part in the substandard areas considered in this study. On the basis of his findings Shulman arrived at a conclusion which here deserves quotation:

"A majority of these areas of severe delinquency are central rather than peripheral, being located in congested central areas combining commerce, manufacturing and housing rather than in peripheral residential areas." (7)

All the studies mentioned are in uniform agreement that the breaking up process, so far as a strictly residential neighborhood is concerned, opens the door to social disorganization. This prevails not only on the surface, but also in the case histories of delinquents who reside in transitional zones. The reasons are not far to seek and can be sketched readily.

A neighborhood breakdown is often preceded by physical deterioration. Taxation, decreasing rentals and increasing land values combine to make properties more profitable if used for commercial and industrial purposes. Stores, garages, lofts and heavier industrial plants begin to spread over the terrain. The housing that remains is usually too antiquated to modernize profitably and is occupied largely by those who are unable to afford the higher rents prevailing in more desirable sections.

Neighborhood solidarity is the first bulwark to give way. Community codes of behavior are relaxed with the

⁽⁷⁾ Harry M. Shulman. The Youthful Offender. A Report of the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects, New York State Crime Commission, Albany, N.Y. 1931. p. 125.

consequence that undesirables enter, like seepage through a dike that is about to collapse. They bring patterns of conduct which the weak and impressionable, especially among adolescents and juveniles, are prone to emulate. Ultimately the atmosphere becomes one in which delinquency thrives best.

Environment and Delinquency. He would be a Solon indeed who could picture statistically the influences of environment upon human behavior. Like that of heredity, it is still an open issue among scientists. What applies to social, is less true however, of physical environment. Our knowledge of the effects that climate and topography have upon men is precise. Health, we know, depends largely upon a suitable adaptation to the physical setting.

Social environment is not a matter that can be reduced to the simplicity and precision of a multiplication table. Composed of many forces, mostly intangible and hence immeasurable, it is a variable. On no two persons does it act alike. This assures a different outcome for environment upon individuals even within the same family, and explains the difficulty of treating the outcome mathematically.

Delinquency, for example, can be measured on a distributional scale. One area will be found to have more delinquents than another. While the greater prevalence suggests that the behavior problems these delinquents represent are allied in some degree to their social environment, it does not explain their underlying causation. Only that approach, which is a blend of the psychological and the sociological and which the case method best embodies, can supply the real answer.

Sociologists are the first to acknowledge and pro-

claim these facts. None more so than those who have made distributional studies of delinquency. It is recognized widely that at best such studies are but indices to a community situation. Their value is somewhat similar to that of a divining rod. They locate the social "trouble" centers which stand in most need of extensive study. Only by such study, in fact, can the connection between an area and delinquency be appraised in all its breadth and depth.

Some of the links in this connection have been ascertained through social exploration, group and individual case studies. An example is Thrasher's competent study of gangs in Chicago. (8) Sociologists, on the basis of such accumulated data have drawn tentative conclusions about environment as a positive factor in delinquent behavior which, as they apply to delinquency areas, here require brief examination.

First is the fact that environmental forces are twofold in nature. Some are more direct than others in influencing behavior. Moreover the interaction between the
delinquent and the social situation that reflects these
forces, in every case depends ultimately upon the individual make-up. A mental defective, because of his condition, is virtually incapable of selecting an appropriate
response to environment. The weak-willed and the impressionable likewise are equally more subject to external
pressures. The same applies also to those in whose pcrsonality there is a psychopathological set. In a normal
environment such individuals are unadjusted. Where the
environment is abnormal, as in delinquency areas, the difficulties of adjustment are doubled.

⁽⁸⁾ Frederick M. Thrasher, The Gang. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.

Here indeed, the axiom that the weaker the individual's resistance, the stronger the environmental pressures, is singularly true. Equally does it explain the obstacles to be encountered in rehabilitating the delinquents resident in deteriorated areas. Economic circumstances usually preclude their removal elsewhere. Rehabilitative processes, like probation and parole, are in consequence faced with the double task of constantly combating environment, as well as the individual's shortcomings.

Environmental influences which act either directly or indirectly upon the individual in slum sections are numerous. As they open up larger issues than could be discussed within fixed limits of space, they only can be indicated. Poverty, which is most prevalent in the slum environment, is a foremost example. On its direct influence in shaping delinquent conduct, there is no universal agreement. Specialized studies and the fact that where poverty is also present many do not become delinquent, are cited to disprove its direct causal influence. On the contrary, correlations made between crime and economic conditions are used to prove the reverse. (9)

Two facts must be recognized in correlating delinquency with poverty. Firstly that poverty usually is combined with other factors and that no scale exists for estimating accurately the predominance of any one as a primary causative agent. The second is the fact that poverty, as also low income levels, represents basic processes in the larger social environment of the individual. A recognition of both facts brings sharply into the foreground

⁽⁹⁾ A Summary of the different viewpoints is given by Walter C. Reckless and Mapheus Smith, Juvenile Delinquency, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York pp. 132-133.

the psychological effects of poverty.

Poverty, it is self-evident, occasions deprivation, curtailments and denials. Often these have a direct bearing on emotional equilibrium. Conflicts ensue within the individual and between him and his family group. The urge for possession is intensified both by repression and the observation of others with the things sought. The frequency of this has led Brasol to observe that:

"The importance of the economic factor is dependent, not so much upon absolute poverty, as on that relative symptom which puts a person in discord with the means in his possession and with the social standards of the group in which he belongs." (10)

A second and commonly admitted corollary of poverty is a sense of inferiority, compensation for which is sometimes obtained by adopting attitudes calculated to compel recognition. Attitudes of bravado, or emulation of those who have taken unethical short cuts to obtain money are ready examples. Stealing by children in many cases has been established clinically to be a symptom of inferiority. Repeatedly is inferiority implied in statements of adolescent delinquents. Every probation worker is familiar with such explanations as "I wanted the money to get clothes", or "I just wanted to have a good time." Associated with an underlying inferiority there is a desire to "belong" to the group on terms of equal footing, as reflected in clothes, money and the like. The outcome is sometimes disastrous in its consequences.

The foregoing are but sidelights on the effects of poverty. When traceable in delinquent lives, they are

⁽¹⁰⁾ Boris Brasol, op cit., p. 92.

usually discovered to be entwined with other elements. Notably personality maladjustments which more often than otherwise date back to childhood days. The records of juvenile court appearances which so many delinquents possess bear out this fact. As regards delinquent residents of slum areas, the records assume a deeper significance. The more so, as in the same areas that have high rates of juveniles, there is almost always a greater incidence of adult crime.

Group relationships outside the family are among the environmental forces with a more direct implication for delinquency. At the root of these is the association habit, one that lies deep in all normal humans. Combined with the emulative it is frequently a habit that leads into unwholesome and sometimes criminal associations. The choice of associates by adolescents at any time requires discrimination. A much greater selectivity is necessary amid so heterogeneous a population as that of slum areas. Adult delinquents, though not in every instance professionally criminal, abound in such areas. This condition gives emphasis to the danger unsupervised youths, and especially those in deteriorated regions, incur in forming companionships promiscuously.

Worthy of reference in this respect are Thrasher's findings. In his study of Chicago gangs he discovered that where adults with criminal habits were numerous, adolescents showed similar tendencies. He thus summarizes the situation:

"In these interstitial sections of Chicago where neglect and suppression of boyhood combine to produce gangs, there abound social patterns of crime and vice which are naturally reflected in the activities of the unsupervised gang or gang club. In the poverty belt, the deteriorating neighborhood and the slum, there is little understanding of the interests of boys or the situations they meet in everyday life." (11)

The case histories in the Probation Department of the Court of General Sessions are rich in examples of what ill-advised associations produce. Approximately three thousand of these cases were inspected during the present study. The inspection disclosed that a large number of the offenses were perpetrated by two or more youths acting in concert. The groupings occurred with greater frequency in slum areas. Points of association usually included residence in the same vicinity and the intimacy of the same age groups. Relatively few of the groupings possessed stigmata characteristic of professional criminal gangs.

One member at least of such groups had been delinquent previously. As often there was a non-delinquent, at once impressionable and possessed of the emulative habit. The observations of Reckless and Smith are illuminating in this connection:

"There seems to be some evidence to support the statement that many delinquent careers are begun by contact with former delinquents. Whether the socio-psychological principle involved is suggestion, conscious imitation or actual teaching matters little just now. The important point is that however ripe for delinquency the individual may be - and he generally is not far short of the overt behavior involved - it is often the stimulus of the person with the reputation or easily recognizable qualities that sets the career in motion." (12)

⁽¹¹⁾ op. cit. p. 252

⁽¹²⁾ Walter C. Reckless - Mapheus Smith, op. cit. pp. 146-

Initiation in crime thus demands no long apprenticeship. Nowhere is it more easily facilitated than in the slum. It is this facilitation, even acceleration of delinquent growth, that is a direct environmental influence in slum areas. The reasons are apparent. Family controls are apt to be weak. The neighborhood controls are either much weaker or virtually non-existent. Street life and associations increase in direct proportion. The more rapidly, in fact, where there is a dearth of adequate and suitably organized recreational facilities, a condition that invariably prevails in deteriorated areas.

The blame is not entirely with parents. Nor yet is it with the organizations which strive to provide wholesome group life and recreation. Physical and social deterioration in a neighborhood are insidious and powerful factors to counteract. Especially so, when to these are added congestion, a mixed population and the excitement which illicit activities offer to restless and adventure-seeking youths.

As well dony there are slums as deny that delinquency does not flourish best under conditions of deterioration. There can be no denial cither, that in deteriorated areas youth is at a decided disadvantage. Housing is at its worst. Disorder colors the environment. No science is needed then to grasp the consequent results in the mind and emotions of the young. As Burt so succinctly states:

"It is not bad surroundings alone that create delinquency but the workings of these bad surroundings on the thoughts and feelings of a susceptible mind." (13)

Housing and Delinquency. No picture where only situations outside the home are sketched can completely il-

⁽¹³⁾ Cyril Burt. The Young Delinquent, D. Appleton & Co. New York, 1925. p. 179.

lustrate the relation of environment to delinquency. The home is the primary or immediate environment of a person. As such, its influences are the first and longest to play upon him. Continuously from birth onwards they bear down on him with the same strength as the sun when focused through a magnifying glass. Either they ignite responses productive of suitable conduct or they set the spark of that social conflict which delinquency epitomizes.

The home, however approached, cannot be disassociated entirely from housing. To disassociate it, would be to ignore the evidence of our senses. Equally would it be impossible to deny that housing has no influence upon individuals. Housing is the brick and mortar aspect of environment, and as such, is not without its effects upon the individual. Medical science has traced its connection to health. The designation of tubercular and pulmonary afflictions as house diseases typifies the relationship.

As with all environment, housing has both direct and indirect effects. The physical are readily manifested in health. Working through this, housing affects personality. The consequences are many and varied. Seldom is the end result the same in every case. The effects, however, are distinguishable. There is the sequence of lowered vitality, lowered moral resistance and hence a greater susceptibility to the impact of malformative forces. There is also the unsound body without which personality cannot be perfectly balanced. No rationalizing is required to stress the point. Already the biological aspects of conduct are recognized widely. As much are they forces in delinquent as in any other form of behavior.

The moral is a concomitant of bad housing that most directly connects with delinquent conduct. Exactly that

phase is meant whenever the word indecent is applied to housing. Measured by results, indecent is too innocuous a word. Whoever doubts this, need but consult briefly with any social welfare or probation worker. Should any optimism still remain, it will be dispelled quickly by visiting homes where overcrowding attains immoral proportions. Dickens, in denouncing bad housing as a "source of intolerable ills," (14) fell short of the number that still can be found in one large slum area in this City.

Overcrowding, in its relation to delinquency, is a Janus faced problem. The most serious aspect is the commingling of sexes in the same sleeping quarters. Children, adolescents and adults alike, all share the same room. It is common knowledge that this situation prevails in the area above mentioned and is anything but unknown in other areas. The consequences, of course, are both direct and indirect. Either they lead directly to sexually immoral practices within the home or often culminate in immoral practices outside the home.

The danger to the morals of children who live in overcrowded homes has been commented upon by Aschaffenburg in the following words:

"The living together in close quarters, even sleeping together of adults and children, of parents and lodgers, must arouse sexual instincts at an early age. The mode of life becomes so much the more dangerous, the less restrained the passions of the adult are - particularly so, in the case of criminals and prostitutes." (15)

Records are not wanting in any criminal court to in-

⁽¹a) Charles Dickens, Editorial "To Working Men," Household Words, Saturday, October 7th, 1854, No. 237.

⁽¹⁵⁾ G. Aschaffenburg, Crime and its Repression. Little, Brown & Co. Boston, 1913. p. 134.

dicate some of the graver consequences which at times emanate from situations like those above mentioned. There are the findings also of Healy and Bronner in their study of three thousand delinquency cases. These gave ground to the following conclusion:

"Unfortunate early improper sex experiences, encountered in very many instances before ten years of age, are important factors, we find, in the development of delinquent trends." (16)

The sensational stress placed on the moral phase of overcrowding has led some to doubt its seriousness. A coldly scientific approach can bring forth no other but the conclusion that, if anything, the seriousness has been under-emphasized. The subject is not one that lends itself to detailed discussion in this study. Except to indicate its importance in any consideration of housing as related to delinquency, it is one for specialized treatment.

Overcrowding within a home is prolific in possibilities for conflict. Health experts have defined the minimum space and cubic square feet of air needed by an individual. Even as they apply to the crew's quarters, these requirements are enforced on American and most foreign merchant ships. Similar standards should be evolved for the emotional free space an individual requires. The absence of this, notably where there is overcrowding, is virtually a precipitant of conflict. An analogy is offered by the physical sciences. It is the rudimentary one of two bodies moving rapidly toward each other, with collision as the inevitable outcome.

⁽¹⁶⁾ William Realy and Augusta Bronner: Delinquents and Criminals. MacMillan Co. New York 1926 p. 180.

Antagonisms similarly arise where there is overcrowding. Little or no space is afforded for the free expression of personality. Irritations as well as harmful repressions ensue. Jealousies also and those deep seated resentments which always produce emotional combustion. The most damaging effects of this are upon personality, though instances are far from scarce of physical assaults, incited by long smouldering grudges, no less than impulsive reactions to irritations.

Overcrowding may hamper the proper development of personality. Time and again case histories of offenders reveal both overcrowding within the home and a warped personality. Between them, of course, there is never a uniformly causal relationship. The coincidence of overcrowding, however, cannot be ignored entirely. Even if not associated immediately with behavior, it is an index to economic status and living conditions.

Inadequate play space is a major characteristic of the overcrowded home. Children are handicapped the most. More than any, it is the one factor that compels them to seek outdoors what they are denied inside the home. Together with inadequate playgrounds, it best explains street life and recreation in congested areas. Both are acknowledged paths to delinquency in many cases.

Housing must be accepted as an influence in behavior. Like other environmental influences, however, it can neither be weighed quantitatively nor linearly correlated as a causal factor in delinquency. The fact that areas of bad housing are notable for high delinquency rates suggests a relationship. On the contrary, the fact that the physical cannot be separated from the social, economic and personal elements that constitute a home, shows the inher-

ent difficulty in isolating housing as a separate element for study in relation to malbehavior.

One such study was undertaken prior to 1915 in Detroit. An index of density of room population first was obtained. Comparisons then were made between slum and non-slum sections. The juvenile delinquency cases numbered 168 in the former and 621 in the latter. Density of room population was found to be .6013 in the non-slum and 1.0497 in the slum areas. (17)

As other factors were unquestionably present in the delinquency cases, only a relative significance can be attached to the findings. The real value of the study lies in its demonstration of scientific techniques. The more extensively these are utilized the sooner will a body of statistical materials be built up, thereby providing an index to housing as a situation in behavior problems. Clifford Shaw, Sheldon Glueck and their associates have skillfully summarized the difficulties which now attend the studies. Among other pertinent facts, they stress the following:

"Nost studies of the social effects of housing in general have relied on single indices, such as the density of population, or number of persons per room. Even the latter is a very crude measure of housing, though possibly the most practical one so far developed for large scale measurement. When we find high density, or a high degree of room overcrowding, associated with a high delinquency rate, comparing area with area, it suggests that there may be some causal relation. It does not prove it. This

⁽¹⁷⁾ cf A City Wide Housing Study and its Relation to Juvenile Delinquency, Major Crime and Important Health Problems. The Michigan Housing Association, Detroit, August, 1929.

causal relation might be complex." (18)

It must be acknowledged that the value of statistical studies relating housing to delinquency is limited. The reasons for this are best set forth by James Ford who states:

"No adequate studies of the causes of crime which properly isolate housing factors are available at this time. Nor does it seem probable that housing factors can be sufficiently isolated from other environmental factors, or from conditions of family life, moral training and the mental and emotional make-up of the individual, to make such a study convincing." (19)

As an outstanding fact in a slum environment, bad housing is adirect challenge to social action. The knowledge that we still have such housing is startling enough. The added revelation that antiquated slum dwellings are tenanted, over-tenanted at that, and by human beings like ourselves, raises doubt both as to our social conscience and our boast of world leadership in social progress. Certainly that progress cannot be reflected in crime reduction until the areas where crime and delinquency flourish most are eradicated. The fact that these are also areas of inhuman dwelling places is at once a practical test of our social action and a test of our ingenuity in providing suitable low rental homes in order to serve those who should be benefited the most.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Sheldon Glueck-Clifford Shaw et.al: Housing and Delinquency, in "Housing and the Community" A report of the Committee on Housing, The Presidents' Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Wash. D.C. 1932. p. 20.

⁽¹⁹⁾ James Ford "Improved Housing as a means of Crime Prevention" Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Sciences, May 1926, p. 177.

The experience of large European cities furnishes ample evidence of the desirable benefits to be gained from improved housing. Assuredly the most desirable is a reduction in behavior disorders. A concrete illustration in Liverpool, a city notorious for its bad housing is given by J.J. Clarke. (20)

One area before its demolition, had 202 arrests per annum. After it was reconstructed, the number decreased to 84 and eight years later to 4 per annum. The same progressive change occurred in all the areas that had been rehabilitated. Commenting on the policing of these, the Head Constable of Liverpool states:

"I have no hesitation in saying that the work carried out by the Housing Committee in the demolition of insanitary slum property, and the re-housing of the tenants in the present bright, attractive and sanitary model dwellings has had a most beneficial effect, as regards the sobriety, good conduct and generally improved demeanor of the residents in the districts affected. Police duty was formerly exceedingly difficult to perform in these districts but this is now entirely performed by fewer men." (21) Results like the Slum Clearance as Crime Control. foregoing have obtained wherever there has been slum clear-They possess a double value. Additional documenance. tation is given by them to the fact that deteriorated are invariably slum areas. A solution that has worked, is The fact, undeniable in the face of also pointed out. such evidence, that it insures a better environment is proof that slum clearance means crime prevention.

⁽²⁰⁾ John Joseph Clarke. The Housing Problem. Isaac Pitman's Sons, London 1920, p. 218-219.

⁽²¹⁾ As quoted by Clark, ibid p. 219.

Constantly it becomes clearer that controlling crime after, instead of before its commission, is neither a cheap nor a preventive process. The old homily about locking the barn after the horse is stolen ironically applies to our action on crime. As true is it that to return the horse and again leave the door open, is to invite a repetition of the theft. The latter situation is somewhat paralleled in our handling of delinquents.

The delinquent may be removed from a bad environment, but the environment remains for others. He may be confined behind prison walls, reformed and then returned to the world outside. Economic pressure, inability to live elsewhere and the stigma which imprisonment has stamped upon him, all may combine to force him back into the setting whence he came. That the slum often is his setting is a commonplace. The revolution in his case has been solely that of a wheel. With the difference that only a vicious circle has been traversed.

Facts like these compel the recognition of environment as an objective for social reform along with the individual. No person, least of all a delinquent residing in the slums, lives in a vacuum. The net of crime prevention accordingly must be flung far and wide. Environment above all should be brought within its mesh. Where the setting is the slum, common sense dictates the step to be taken. The slum should be abolished, for crime prevention as well as for humanitarian reasons.

Substituting new for old housing is but one among many moves towards slum clearance. Apart from being habitable, new dwellings should be made rentable by the poor. Anything else defeats the social purpose of slum clearance. Housing likewise must be designed to alleviate

overcrowding within the home and congestion in the neighborhood. Otherwise evils that often have a delinquent implication, will be perpetrated.

Regional planning alone can make slum clcarance as effective an aid for crime control, as machine guns are for an infantry attack. Environment, after all, means pressure, whether physical, economic, social or moral. Where the pressure is unwholesome, counter pressure is the practical alternative. No better substitutes have yet been designed to replace a decent home, a suitable neighborhood, adequate and supervised recreation, as constructive pressures upon the individual. Where all are operative, delinquency rates are lowest. The moral, as well as the direction to be taken in making the needed reforms, is clear.

Provision must be made in any slum clearance program for recreation. Next to housing, it is the most important point of attack in delinquency areas. Playgrounds should be ample in number, spacious in size, equipped suitably and properly supervised. An unsupervised playground is no better than the street as a possible source of ill-advised associations. The same holds for places of commercialized amusement. A rigid control should be exercised over those in reconstructed areas. The neighborhood should be the unit of reconstruction; socially as well as physically. Anything short of this, would be neither slum clearance nor crime prevention.

A program in order to serve both ends must coordinate many activities. Social welfare as expressed in constructive measures for individual betterment is not the least. As Aschaffenburg points out:

"Every measure that helps to make the people physi-

cally, mentally and economically healthier, is a weapon in the struggle against the world of crime." (22)

The slum, as already suggested, is not one but a set of problems. Some are deep seated in the economic, others in the social structure. Others still are the accompaniments of the city's growth upwards and outwards. Poverty is in the slum, along with disease and crime. The lawabiding rub elbows with the criminally minded. The delinquent plays with the non-delinquent child. For all, there is the same wretched housing, the same overcrowding, the same street life and the same restricted play space. What differentiates the honest citizen from the criminal, when both alike live in the same deteriorated neighborhood, is after all, character.

As it improves the social setting, slum clearance will help to disentangle the skein which is crime. The skein wherein environmental influences and personal traits are confusingly enmeshed. When this is done, there will be alike a more complete understanding of delinquent behavior and full mastery over that soil where it grows exotically, - the slum.

⁽²²⁾ G. Aschaffenburg, op. cit. p. 228.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS AND MATERIALS OF STUDY

The study of crime is also a study of obstacles to be overcome. Especially is this so when statistics are the working materials. Ground work in ferreting out data and tabulating them must precede such a study. Sources of information are numerous and widely spaced. The records, which first must be scrutinized, everywhere are kept differently. When the facts sought are many, two and usually more documents must be consulted for every case transcribed. The work is a time and labor eating process. It is only an initial step.

The materials and the methods used in this study were selected solely in order to answer certain questions. They are five in number. Each is what the lay inquirer about crime and juvenile delinquency most likely would ask. In the order answered they are:

Where did the most delinquents live?
Where were the most offenses committed?
What and how numerous were the offenses?
What kind were the offenders?
What dispositions were made of the offenders?

Answering any one question involves a three-fold process. Facts must be gathered, then assembled statistically and, if their meaning is to be clear, presented graphically. An answer which eliminates this tripartite process is speculative and not scientific.

Science, whether it be that of the astronomer, the physicist or the social worker, must be precise. To whatever conclusion it drives, it must have facts. What sir James Jeans says about the new teachings of astronomy and

physical science, applies equally to sociological studies:

"The question at issue is ultimately one for philosophic discussion, but before the philosophers have a right to speak, science ought first to be asked to tell all it can as to ascertained facts and provisional hypotheses. Then, and then only, may discussion legitimately pass into the realm of philosophy." (23)

Statistics are dealt with in this study. How they were collected, arranged, measured and charted, will be sketched in this chapter. As organization, both of personnel and material, is necessary for a survey, the set-up of the present one is the best starting point for description.

organization for Study. A model for organization was handy in the Probation Department of the Court of General Sessions. The model in many respects has been duplicated in the survey set-up. When recruited, the staff was told off for statistical, field and clerical work. Tabulators, statisticians and draughtsmen, each corps under a supervisor, composed the statistical division. The field workers were divided into two groups. One visited police stations, courts and probation departments in order to transcribe factual data. The other group reported socially on the substandard areas. A clerical force, directed by the Office Manager, handled all stenographic, supply and messenger work.

Forms for recording the requisite data first had to be devised. Index cards ordinarily are the most serviceable for this purpose. The quantity that would have to be transported daily to and from police stations and court

⁽²³⁾ Sir James Jeans, The Mysterious Universe, Revised Edition. The MacMillan Co., New York, 1932, p. vii.

houses, added to the likelihood that some would be lost in transit, precluded their use. Standard sized sheets were accordingly mimeographed as forms, fastened to folders and given to the field workers. As a precaution against inaccurate transcribing, oral and written instructions in form usage were issued, the written instructions being attached to the folder.

An area sheet, necessarily larger in size, was ruled up for the tabulators. On this, all data about offenders were entered after their addresses had been located as to specific areas. The third in the set of work sheets was a recapitulation form for summarizing statistically all entries. Other forms, like time sheets, and a record of daily performance to be signed by each worker, had to do with the personnel side of organization. The survey setup was kept as simple as possible and was aimed solely at insuring accurate and systematic work.

All data on persons arrested came directly from police blotters. In addition to Police Head-quarters, twenty-six precincts in Manhattan and twenty-nine in Brooklyn were visited. Arrest books alone were consulted. As a summons usually implies a traffic or similar violation, the summons books were not touched. The more centrally located and the busiest precincts invariably have several arrest books for the same year. Arrests are entered chronologically and hence are numbered consecutively from the beginning to the end of a calendar year. Table 1 gives a schedule of arrests during 1930 by precinct totals. The schedule was prepared for the survey through the kindness of Inspector Joseph Donovan, in charge of the Bureau of Criminal Identification of the Police Department.

The information about convicted persons was obtained in the various courts of criminal jurisdiction. Docket

TABLE 1 SCHEDULE OF ARRESTS

BY PRECINCT TOTALS - 1930

PCTS.	FELONIES	MISDEHEANORS	JUV. DEL,	SUHMONSES	WITHESSES	TOTAL
1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 10 13 14 15 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 27 28 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30	238 142 266 183 908 227 386 221 523 302 258 309 349 349 352 572 37 814 406 423 94 634 265 229	2,203 1,476 1,978 1,007 3,406 2,441 3,223 3,820 3,548 2,488 2,508 10,662 2,098 3,016 6,875 2,670 2,269 4,71 3,911 2,423 4,141 4,7 5,087 1,397 5,667 1,212	22 34 101 23 55 42 75 58 100 31 361 169 49 38 142 71 77 37 258 127 109	2,242 2,967 1,343 1,284 1,831 1,222 3,308 1,059 5,372 4,381 14,819 7,149 7,149 7,149 7,214 14,833 6,294 9,957 5,323 7,393 2,831 4,19 3,570 4,642 6,943	1 2 2 3 3 1 5 6 3 8 1 2 2 7	4,705 4,619 3,283 2,558 5,676 4,587 4,907 7,412 5,235 8,199 7,511 26,428 9,506 10,619 22,540 9,387 12,882 5,967 10,307 10,353 7,511 563 9,599 6,564 11,291 8,450
HANTN	10,381	80,034	2,528	127,627	89	220,659
60 61 62 63 64 67 68 69 70 71 72 74 75 77 78 80 81 82 83 84 85 87 89 99 94	202 150 242 82 162 154 290 56 225 171 193 328 14 265 223 142 265 223 169 247 161 379 212 113 210 168 178	3.014 673 959 228 713 444 2,254 340 725 745 1.113 2.917 73 1.193 960 616 3.835 1.385	585 60 188 26 117 40 116 42 58 53 124 149 7 102 34 76 125 55 41 50 214 134 99 66 32 44 71 134 42	4.303 4.621 2.310 2.438 2.073 3.004 2.272 6.060 5.989 3.842 3.422 3.970 1.360 3.442 107 1.388 5.593 2.199 1.693 2.244 5.17 3.30 1.117 1.220 4.77 1.79	1 1 2 2 2 3 1 1 3 1 2 3	8.105 5.504 3,700 2,774 3.085 3,642 4,934 1.054 7,997 4.863 4.852 7.364 1.454 5.006 1.201 2.225 9.775 3.254 2.910 2.723 4.700 1.751 7.680 1.723 1.044 2.747 2.647 2.389 775
BKLYN	5,34º	35.428	2,884	58,197	22	111,879
TOTAL	15.729	115.462	5,412	195,824	111	332,538

books, court papers and the case histories of the probation departments were consulted. All told, the courts so tapped numbered 23 in Manhattan and Brooklyn combined. The following schedule lists them, with the number of cases transcribed in each:

COURTS TAPPED FOR DATA MANHATTAN and BROOKLYN With Number of Cases Transcribed							
Children Women's	3743 3106						
Magistra Court of General	40026 8729						
	nty Cour	ts	TOTA		60088		
(a) The Children's is now a part of the Domestic Relations Court.							

When supplementary data were needed, access was had to the District Attorney's office, alike in New York and Kings Counties. The annual reports of the Police Department and the courts proved invaluable for reference. All sources of data on offenders were official and all have been employed freely in order to build up an adequate and accurate body of statistical materials.

The social information about substandard areas was garnered through field exploration. Secured by laymen, it represents what the average person in quest of amusement, cultural centers, outdoor recreational facilities or social agency assistance, would be able to find on his own initi-

ative. The results of this social reporting have been checked against directories and also listings by the Board of Education, the Health, Hospital, License, Police and Public Welfare Departments.

Accuracy of Data. The data on which this study is grounded are accurate to the extent that police, court and similar records are accurate. Addresses of persons arrested, like the names given by many, are some times incorrect. Owing to the time and labor it would require, verification of addresses could not be made. About seventy-five per cent. may be assumed to be correct, on the strength of a test made by Shulman in 1930 during his survey for the New York State Crime Commission. The techniques principally involved the use of the postal service and a check by police of the precinct nearest the offender's residence. (24)

Addresses of persons convicted are verified by the probation departments which investigate them prior to sentence. As experience shows, floaters are mainly from outside the city and have been classified along with non-residents. Residents of other Boroughs who were arrested or convicted in Manhattan and Brooklyn have been designated as such in tables and charts. Their inclusion was necessary for totalization purposes, especially as to place of offense.

The fact that an offender resides there does not imply he is a slum product. He may have been born and reared elsewhere - possibly in another city, another borough, or, as not infrequently, in a rural district. A city as large as New York magnetically attracts both the industrious, hon-

⁽²⁴⁾ c.f. Harry M. Shulman, op. cit., pp. 141-143, for a description of the test and discussion of the authenticity of addresses furnished by offenders.

estly seeking better opportunities, and the criminally disposed, seeking like opportunities for prey and loot. The latter usually gravitate to sections where congestion and living conditions at once afford greater freedom and better concealment. An offender, then, either may be charged to an area as a resident or as an indigenous product. Before he can be adjudged the latter, his life history must be known. As residents alone, and not as native products, are offenders here related to specific areas.

major aspects, offenders and offenses the main subject matter studied. The distribution is on a Borough scale. Alike it shows the location of an offender's residence and, for convictions, the place of offense. Accuracy requires this two-fold presentation. Where a person lives may not be in the same locality that the offense is committed. Similarly a resident of a non-slum area may perpetrate a crime in a slum area. The distinction is a simple but important one.

The number of offenders are in actual figures, in ratio to population of the same age groups and by square block rates. Comparisons are between the substandard areas collectively and the non-slum section in each borough. A finer control was not permissible because of time and other limitations.

1. Offenders

The offenders studied have been classified into six groups. Except for Arrests and Female Offenders, each group corresponds to the legal character of the offense charged. The groups, subdivided by offense, sex, age, color and nativity are:

- 1. Arrests
- 2. Juveniles adjudged Delinquent

- 3. Female Offenders
- 4. Petty Offenders
- 5. Misdemeanants
 - 6. Felons

Arrests are a separate unit. Otherwise duplication would occur. A check up of the names and addresses of those arrested against those convicted in the different courts was precluded by the immense case load. The comparison, however, would not eliminate all duplication. Names and addresses given when arrested often are fictitious and corrections sometimes are not made until investigation by probation departments prior to sentence.

By deducting convictions from arrests, duplication can be avoided. This method, however, would not insure complete accuracy if applied in the present study. Arrests were transcribed only for 1930, whereas some offenders convicted in that year had been arrested late in the preceding year. Similarly some arrested towards the end of 1930 did not come up for trial until early in the ensuing year. Arrests accordingly are accepted only as an index of crimes committed and charged against the persons taken into custody.

The distribution and frequency of juveniles are confined to those who have been adjudged delinquent. Neglected children are excluded since the neglect obviously is on the part of parents or guardians. Where the judgment entered on the court docket was both delinquency and neglect, the case has been counted as one of delinquency. This is done in order to permit statistical comparisons with the court report.

An observation regarding juvenile delinquency is here timely. It applies in a sense to all offenders. It is

the mandatory need to distinguish between the accidental, the casual and the habitual offender. The offense alleged may be trivial, but the offender in other respects, may present a serious behavior problem. On the contrary the offense may be only an isolated act and in nowise a clue to the offender's normal behavior. Appropos in this connection is the statement of Reckless and Smith:

"It is important to note that in juvenile research circles, the term 'juvenile delinquency' merely denotes a child who has been acted upon officially by police officers or court authorities and does not signify a type of case generically different from cases of non-delinquent problem children or those children whose problems have not officially been recognized." (25)

A study like the present can show the distribution and frequency of juvenile delinquents only to the extent that they came before a court. There can be no statistical treatment of the numbers handled in petto by parents, teachers and child welfare workers. An example is the behavior problem girl often left to the school for handling, usually with commendable results. (26)

Statistical studies cannot portray adequately the degree of severity each juvenile delinquency case presents. For this, the case method approach is imperative. Ratings can be devised by which to score the severity of findings. The ratings, however, are arbitrary. Objective data alone can be scored. Factors which are purely subjective, the real imponderables in any delinquent situation, can no more be brought under a tape measure than under a microscope.

⁽²⁵⁾ Walter C. Reckless and Mapheus Smith, op. cit., p. 13.

⁽²⁶⁾ cf "The Behavior Problem Girl" A Report of the Committee appointed by the Superintendent of Schools to Study the Behavior of Problem Girl, Board of Education, New York, 1929.

All female offenders arrested or convicted have been tabulated. The generic designation applies only to offenders convicted in the Women's Courts. Into this are brought females charged principally with prostitution and being wayward minors; the latter beyond the age jurisdiction of the Children's Courts. A separate category for these offenders was warranted alike by the character of their offenses and the nature of the court wherein they were convicted. Females convicted elsewhere are distributed through the appropriate groups which in turn are subdivided by sex.

Individuals convicted in the Magistrates' Courts are grouped as Petty Offenders. These are subdivided according to offenses which are described later. Although designated as Petty, all such offenders cannot be regarded only as trivial behavior problems. An example is the professional pickpocket, who, owing to inadequate evidence for a larceny charge, is convicted of jostling.

The degenerate, who constitutes a psycho-pathological problem, is another example. There is also the individual convicted of creating a disturbance or street fighting. Trivial as some offenses may appear, from a criminogenic standpoint they are frequently symptomatic of more serious behavior disorders. Offenders charged with their commission cannot be ignored completely.

The other offender groups are self-explanatory. Composed of individuals convicted in the Courts of Special Sessions, General Sessions and Kings County, they contain Misdemeanants and Felons who are differentiated into the two categories. A certain selectivity was necessary in connection with misdemeanants convicted in the Court of Special Sessions. As it was determined by the offense charged,

the selective process will be referred to in a subsequent section. All offenders convicted in General Sessions and Kings County Courts are included, though suitably classified as misdemeanants or felons.

Age composition is given for all offender groups. Recent criminogenic studies have laid heavy stress upon the incidence of criminality among some as compared with other age groups. Commenting upon a report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Sutherland, for example, points out that:

"The age of greater criminality is not sharply defined, however. The maximum is reached by a gradual approach from the age of ten with no sudden or sharp break at the age of adolescence, as might be expected; and there is a gradual decline after the maximum until the age of 44, after which it drops rapidly. But it should not be inferred from this that old age is free from crime." (27)

Doubt no longer exists as to the frequency of crime among the 16 to 20 and the 21 to 25 age groups. A born skeptic alone could doubt that the general run of offenders today can be apportioned to the male population between 16 and 35 years of age. Whether this means that more males between these ages are becoming criminals is a secondary point. Whether, as some suggest, better statistical methods are bringing the age composition of offenders into bolder relief, is equally a minor theme. The central fact is that the adolescent is now and for some years past has been the most conspicuous figure in criminal activities.

Four groups comprise the age divisions of this study. They are the 16-20, 21-25, 26-35 and the 36 and upwards,

⁽²⁷⁾ Edwin H. Sutherland, Criminology. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1920, p. 90.

respectively. The first two serve to focus attention on the adolescent and the youthful adult. The other divisions, increasing in age span, admittedly are arbitrary. A more extensive break up, say into one, three or four year groups, would have involved much labor. No other purpose either would have been served than nicety of detail.

2. Offenses

All offenses implying delinquency were transcribed. Eliminations, however, were necessary both before and after the transcription. Traffic, violations of Corporate Ordinances and offenses against Federal statutes, notably the defunct Volstead Act, were ruled out at the start of the survey. Others like violations of the Workmen's Compensation Act, violations of the Sanitary Code, the Education Law or Peddling equally were disregarded.

An initial difficulty, especially as to arrest classifications, was the wide variation in offenses. The same difficulty attached to offense categories. More detailed groupings, for example, appear in the Annual Report of the Police Department for 1930 than were practical for this study. On the other hand, a two-fold grouping of offenses against the individual and against the state, is too general. An alternative, and the one accepted, was a six-sided presentation. As applied to arrests, the six offense groups are:

- 1. Offenses against the Person
- 2. Offenses against Chastity
- 3. Offenses against the Family
- 4. Offenses against Property
- 5. Offenses against Public Peace and Order
- 6. Juvenile Delinquency.

The foregoing categories, except for Juvenile Delinquents, Female Offenders and Petty Offenders, are employed

for convictions. It will be noted readily that the first four embrace offenses against the individual or individual rights; the fifth, offenses against the state. Table I sets forth the specific offenses contained in the groups into which arrests have been divided.

The offense classification of the Children's Court is adhered to strictly in connection with Juveniles Adjudged Delinquent. Two designations, it will be noticed, indicate comparatively minor offenses - Violations of the Railroad Law and Violations of Corporate Ordinances. It should not be forgotten, however, that other behavior situations may have been present in addition to such violations. They have been retained in the present compilations alike for this reason and to afford an accurate statistical balance with the court records. The classification follows:

- 1. Assault
- Robbery
 Burglary
- 4. Unlawful Entry
- 5. Stealing6. Disorderly Conduct
- 7. Ungovernable Child and Wayward Minor
- 8. Peddling & Begging 9. Desertion of Home
- 10. Truancy
- 11. Violation of the R. R. Law
 - 12. Violation of Corporate Ordinances

13. Unclassified Offenses

A simple situation was presented by the offenses charged to females convicted in the Women's Court. As dictated by frequencies, these were divided into three categories - namely:

- 1. Prostitution
- 2. Wayward Minor
- 3. Other Offenses

The practicality of the foregoing divisions will be seen by glancing at Chart Number eight, which illustrates the disproportion between the two first and the third offense groupings. An equally simple arrangement of offenses charged to individuals convicted in the Magistrates' Courts

could not be made. A break out of the specific offenses generically described as Disorderly Conduct would have required elaborate tabulating sheets. It was accordingly found more expedient to adopt the same subdivisions as are employed in the Annual Report of the City Magistrates' Courts for the year 1930. The offense groups so selected include the following: (a)

1. Disorderly Conduct

2. Begging 3. Degeneracy

4. Jostling

5. Shooting Craps6. Fortune Telling

7. Intoxication

8. Vagrancy

The division of Misdemeanant group into offense categories offered no special difficulty. The five categories already mentioned were adopted. Within these, the following misdemeanors were placed. (b)

1. Assault 3rd Degree

2. Burglar's Tools

3. Conspiracy

4. Contempt of Court

5. Disorderly House

6. Gambling

Impersonating an Officer

8. Indecent Exposure

9. Lottery

10. Malicious Mischief 11. Malicious Injury to

Property

12. Minors -

a) Admitting to Theatreb) Failure to Provide for

c) Impairing Morals of:

13. Obscene Prints

14. Petit Larceny

15. Possession of Narcotics 16. Possession of Needle or Syringe

17. Possession of Dangerous

Weapons

18. Shoplifting 19. Unlawful Entry

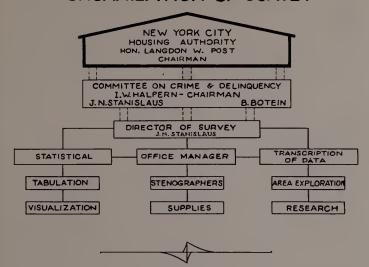
20. Unlawfully Operating a Coin Box

As indicated before, the Misdemeanant group includes offenders convicted in the Courts of Special Sessions, General Sessions and Kings County. The latter two have jurisdiction over all felonies. Frequently, however,

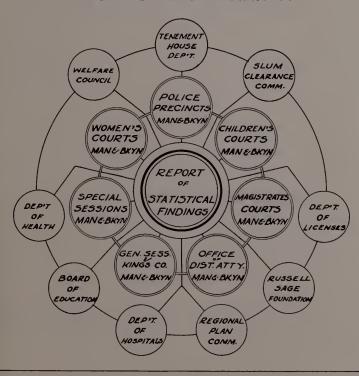
⁽a) In addition to those listed, Prostitution and Wayward Minor convictions were included. The majority of these were in the Women's Courts; some 426 being credited to other courts.

⁽b) Misdemeanors, such as Making a False Financial Statement, Violations of the Labor and Medical Laws, Sanitary Code, etc., illustrate the type of offenses that have been omitted.

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an offender is permitted by the court to plead to a lesser offense which, like Petit Larceny or Unlawful Entry, is a misdemeanor. A jury sometimes returns verdicts convicting defendants of misdemeanors. These for purposes of a unit treatment of misdemeanants have been grouped together. No felonies and only a few misdemeanors have been eliminated from offense elassifications.

Population Ratios. Choice of the year 1930 made possible a direct correlation of offender to population groups of the same ages. The year 1930, in fact, was selected with this purpose in mind. Federal census figures, as used here, were obtained from "Population of the City of New York," a work published by the Cities Census Committee, New York. (c). Where the census age groups did not correspond exactly with offender age groups, resort was made to interpolation. The only error possible therefore may arise from the interpolations made. Every precaution was taken, however, to reduce any such inaccuracy to a minimum.

The population of the substandard areas, as likewise the non-slum sections of each borough, was arrived at by the addition of census figures for sanitary areas. Boundary lines were drawn in order to eliminate, as far as practicable, the overlapping into a non-slum section of a Sanitary District included within the substandard area. Maps supplied by the Slum Clearance Committee, containing both sanitary and substandard areas, were utilized in compiling population totals. The number of square blocks, in substandard and other sections, was derived from an actual count on maps of the Tax Department in the Brooklyn Municipal Building.

⁽c) In addition to the above work, the "Population Bulletin," Second Series of the Fifteenth Census of the United States, issued by the Department of Commerce, also was consulted.

Spot Maps. A set of spot maps was prepared for inclusion in this volume. Each borough and offender group are mapped separately. The major aim being to show distribution and frequency, the spot has been chosen in preference to the shaded map. A brief description of the techniques used in map preparation and spotting may not be inappropriate at this point.

Large street maps were procured from the Topographical Bureau, attached to the Borough Presidents' Offices in Manhattan and Brooklyn. The Manhattan map measured 38" x 122½"; the Brooklyn map, 47" x 62". The larger size, such as the foregoing maps represent and which were used for the spotting of arrests, assured greater accuracy in locating addresses. Tracing cloth of equivalent size was laid over the maps. After the principal topographical features had been traced, the residences of offenders were spotted. These had been listed previously, the addresses first having been checked against street directories for their precise location on the maps. Where two or more offenders had the same address, the spots were placed alongside or as near each other as possible.

Upon completion of the spotting, a count was taken and totals were verified by comparison with statistical findings. Any errors were corrected and a legend giving the area total of offenders was affixed to each map. As the insertion of all streets would create a network of lines, only the principal arteries and landmarks have been mapped. The procedure has served to bring the spotting into sharper relief. Blue print copies to exact scale and photostatic ones on a reduced scale have been taken of all maps.

Social Base Maps. A series of social base maps, one for each substandard area, also are contained in this

volume. The technique for preparing these was identical with that used in making the spot maps. All places shown were checked at first hand through a field survey of the substandard areas. Findings then were verified by reference to appropriate directories and to listings in public and private agencies. The location of dance halls, for example, has been authenticated by comparison with the license list at Police Headquarters. A similar process has been resorted to in order to establish accurately the location of poolrooms and theatres.

The symbols designating a playground, theatre or social agency are in most instances identical with those on the social base maps prepared by Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher of New York University. Through his kind permission they have been applied, with modifications where necessary, to the area maps. No pretense is made that these are ideal social base maps. They have been designed to indicate to the general reader the recreational, cultural and social facilities in each substandard area. By so doing, they also serve to visualize the effort being put forth by public and private agencies to furnish opportunities for self-development within slum areas.

Presentation of Data. The chapters which immediately follow present the statistical findings. Consistent with the principle enumerated at the outset of the chapter, every effort has been put forth to portray the findings graphically. Tables and charts have been interspersed freely between pages, in addition to the maps above mentioned. The position taken is that statistics speak for themselves. Apart from their true worth, no two persons agree upon their deeper values. As an index only to crime and juvenile delinquency are they here offered. As an explana-

tion they do not and cannot suffice. The ultimate explanation of delinquency will be attained only as individual case study is the instrument employed freely, intensively and with constantly increasing skill.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS

The boroughs selected for study are the two largest in offender population. Together they contain a majority of the persons arrested and convicted in the city during 1930. The numerical preponderance of offenders is explainable by the larger population and greater wealth of both boroughs, especially of Manhattan. That crime in a city so rich and with so mixed a population as New York is not more prevalent is indeed a tribute to its law enforcement agencies. Too often is this fact forgotten and at no time more than when a few spectacular crimes are committed. From the standpoint of crime Borough Comparisons. prevalence, Manhattan and Brooklyn do not admit of close comparison. Brooklyn is the larger in size and population. Its residential character becomes evident as one travels inland from the water front and its contiguous business district. Home ownership, an infallible sign of stable population, greatly exceeds that of Manhattan.

Pre-eminently is Manhattan a commercial and amusement center. Although smaller than that of Brooklyn, its population is more densely concentrated. Its hotels are the most numerous of any city. There is in consequence a large transient population, even as there is an enormous daily ingress and egress of commuters from a wide radius. Withal, there is a constantly decreasing residential population. The differences between the boroughs, in fact, are so many as to overshadow any similarities.

Due to its insular configuration, Manhattan is a perfect geographical unit for a distributional study of crime. Brooklyn is less ideal; being one in territory with Queens and the remainder of Long Island. Its layout, however,

presents no obstacles, such as are encountered where sections within the boroughs are selected for studies of criminality.

The units for sectional surveys differ. The two most often employed are the Sanitary District and the Health Area. The latter is by far the better adapted for a crime survey as it is for all other sociological studies. Its non-employment here is attributable solely to the fact that the substandard area was chosen as the basis for all slum clearance surveys. The areas, with their boundaries, the number of square blocks and the population of each are given in Table 2.

A disparity in the number and size of substandard areas further precludes accurate comparisons between the boroughs. Inclusive of the one added during this survey, Manhattan has nine slum areas. There are five in Brooklyn. Local differences between the areas are also apparent. Area One in Manhattan, to cite a random example, adjoins the theatrical district where hotels are also plentiful. This district is a natural center of gravitation for all who seek entertainment. Brooklyn has no substandard area adjacent to a large amusement and hotel center. Any attempts to compare the boroughs or their substandard areas accordingly must be made with facts like the foregoing clearly in mind. The truisms contained in the following statement by the New York State Crime Commission also must be recognized.

"Ne ordinarily think of the crime situation in a community in terms of the number of crimes committed there. We say Manhattan is worse than Brooklyn, or better than Brooklyn because there are more or fewer crimes committed there. Then, depending upon our borough of residence, we feel provincially proud or angry over the facts.

TABLE 2 LOCATION OF SUBSTANDARD AREAS

AREA NO.	AREA BOUNDARIES	TOTAL POP. OF EACH AREA	NO. OF SQ. BKS.
_	West 74th St. to West 42nd St Central Park West & Eighth Ave. to Hudson River	104,525	124
2	West 14th St.& West 11th St. to Canal St Waverly Pl. & Broadway to Hudson River	52,301	161
3	East 3rd to E. 5th St. to New Chambers St East River to Bowery	163.441	241
4	East 24th St. to East 3rd St East River to 3rd Avenue	122,737	124
5	East 79th St. to East 59th St East River to 3rd Avenue	65,587	69
6	East 126th St. & E. 119th St. to East 98th St East River to Fifth Avenue	189,667	190
7	East 119th St. to Harlem River - First Avenue to East River	7,881	11
8	West 150th St. to West 126th St Harlem River to Eighth Avenue	117,121	106
8 A	West 126th St. to West 110th St Fifth Avenue to Eighth Avenue	71,350	53
TOT	AL MANHATTAN SLUM AREAS	894,610	1,079
9	East River to Johnson St. & Myrtle Ave Adelphi St. to Bridge St. & Adams Street	23,109	86
10	Newtown Creek to Driggs Avenue & North 14th St Humboldt St. to East River	44,274	146
11	Richardson & TenEyck St. to Broad- way & Flushing Ave Bushwick Ave. to Union & Manhattan Avenues	42,517	98
12	East New York Ave. to Sutter Ave Van Sinderen Ave. to Hopkinson Ave.	17.330	44
13	Hamilton Ave., Coles St., Court St. & Bush St to New York Bay	20,564	120
TOT	AL BROOKLYN SLUM AREAS	147,794	494
TOT	AL SLUM AREAS	1,042,404	1,573

"This form of emotional thinking is loose, illogical and socially vicious. The number of crimes committed in an area is an index of its degree of wealth, the accessibility of this wealth, and its degree of police protection. It is not an index of the godliness or viciousness of the area." (28)

1. Offender Distribution

The distribution of offenders here studied is confined to 112, 163 persons arrested; 56, 345 convictions treated and 3743 juveniles adjudged delinquent during 1930. The arrests studied constituted 34 per cent. of the 1930 arrest total for Manhattan and Brooklyn combined. Were all included, obviously the ratios to population and to square block, would be three times greater.

Borough Distribution. Primacy as a home borough of offenders was found to belong to Manhattan. More than half the total number tabulated resided there. Although wide-spread, their distribution through the borough is uneven. Where concentrations reach a peak, notably in Harlem and the lower East Side, they coincide with population congestion.

Manhattan residents top all but one offender group. In ratio to the juvenile population of the borough and to total square blocks, they also head the juvenile delinquent group, in which Brooklyn offenders are the most numerous. The position of Manhattan residents in the various offender units is shown in the following table:

TABLE #3 BOROUGH DISTRIBUTION OF MANHATTAN OFFENDERS

Offenders	Actual Number	% of Total	Per 1000 Population	Per Square Block
Arrests	59,732	53.	40.85	22.25
Convictions				
Juvenile Delinquents	1,577	42.	6.59	. 59
Female Offenders	2.091	67.	2.87	.78
Petty Offenders	20.388	51.	13.91	7.57
Misdemeanants	6.053	53.	4.14	2.25
Felons	1,048	57.	.72	. 39
Total	31,157			
Median Rate		51.7	18.30	11.58

(28) Report of The Crime Commission, State of New York, Albany 1931, p. 117.

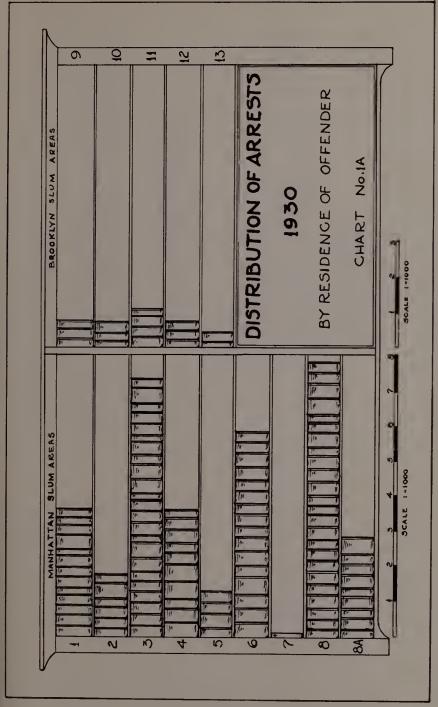
Arrests excepted, the largest is naturally the petty offender group. The rate per one thousand of borough population over sixteen years of age, is 88 per cent. greater than in Brooklyn. In percentage of their group total, female offenders resident in Manhattan rank first. Felons are second on the same basis and misdemeanants third. The felons, however, are the smallest offender group in ratio to population and the square block. In both rates as well as in actual numbers, they are exceeded by juvenile delinquents who rank next to petty offenders in ratio to population.

Offender ratios to borough population and to total square blocks in Manhattan are at least one third, and for some groups, five times higher than in Brooklyn. Directly in line with these findings are the following conclusions of the New York State Crime Commission, as stated in its report for 1931:

"Manhattan leads in severity of crime, with Brooklyn second. The other boroughs are conspicuously better. This order holds both for total of arraignments of serious offenders, and for percentages in relation to male population of the same age." (29)

An appreciable difference is observable in the figures for Brooklyn. From a high of 56 per cent. in the juvenile delinquent, there is a drop to a low of 21 per cent. in the female offender group. Offense severity, however, is best measured by reference to the felon group. Felons residing in Brooklyn, numbering slightly half the number in Manhattan, have a rate of .30 to the borough population and .07 to the total square blocks respectively.

The arrest, to sample another group, shows a similar (29) op. Cit.



disparity. Twenty-one out of every thousand persons were arrested in Brooklyn, whereas there were forty in Manhattan, which has a smaller population and less territory. Contrasted with 4.83 arrests per square block in Brooklyn, there were 22.25 in Manhattan. It must be remembered, that these figures apply only to borough residents. The following table establishes the proportion of Brooklyn inhabitants among the six offender groups.

TABLE #4 BOROUGH DISTRIBUTION OF BROOKLYN OFFENDERS

Offenders	Actual Number	% of Total	Per 1000 Population	Per Square Block
Arrests	39,152	35.	21.30	4.83
Convictions				
Juvenile Delinquents	2.083	56.	4.95	. 26
Female Offenders	648	21.	. 71	.08
Petty Offenders	13.510	34.	7, 37	1.67
Misdemeanants	3,706	33.	2.02	. 45
Felons	546	34. 33. 29.	. 30	.07
Total	20,493			
Median Rate		34.1	9.09	2.54

Sectional Distribution. Offender distribution within a borough can be visualized best by dividing it sectionally. Although not balanced perfectly, the divisions here adopted permit a rough comparison. For want of a better designation, they are called slum and non-slum sections. The statistical set-up which follows illustrates the offender frequency of Manhattan substandard areas collectively.

TABLE #5 OFFENDER FREQUENCY IN MANHATTAN SLUM AREA

Offenders	Actual Number	% of Total	Per 1000 Population	Per Square Block
Arrests	34,375	31.	42.96	31.86
Convictions				
Juvenile Delinquents	1,107	30.	B.04	1.02
Female Offenders	1,177	3B.	3.68	1.09
Petty Offenders	10,770	27.	16.25	10.00
Misdemeanants	3.460	30.	5.02	3.20
Felons	596	33.	.90	.55
Total	17,110			
Median Rate		28.5	21.3B	15.B6

The percentage of offenders is striking. It would be even higher were some areas delimited in order to embrace the offender concentrations immediately outside their

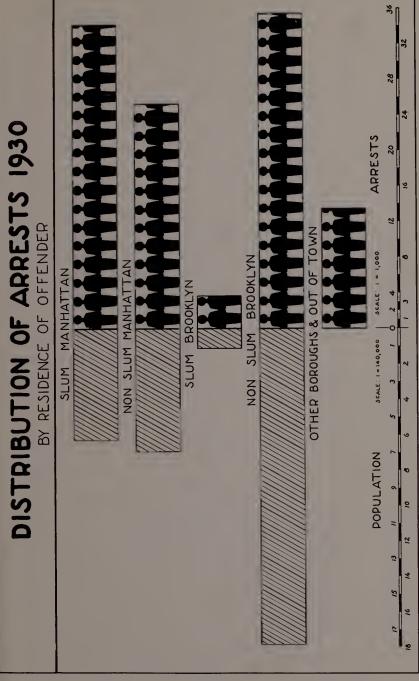


CHART No. 1B

limits. These can be seen readily on the spot maps.

The lowest percentage of Manhattan slum area residents are in the petty, the highest in the female offender groups. Felons are second in percentage. Noteworthy is the high rate of juvenile delinquency in substandard sections. Juvenile offenders there comprise, in actual numbers, about two-thirds of the borough and about one-third of the total for Manhattan and Brooklyn combined. There are almost twice the number of delinquents in ratio to juvenile population in deteriorated areas than elsewhere in Manhattan. A still higher ratio per square block obtains.

Findings like these cogently illustrate the fact that congested and deteriorated areas are no place for wholesome juvenile life. They also give emphasis to the thought which so competent an observer as Miss Lillian D. Wald has voiced:

"There is no more pitiful reflection than the fact it takes so little to help the young to grow up with right standards of conduct; so little to prevent the juvenile delinquency which is often the apprenticeship for adult crime." (30)

One-third of all felons convicted during 1930 in General Sessions and Kings County Courts dwelt in the Manhattan slum areas. Along with female offenders and juvenile delinquents, they are in percentage of totals; the leading offender group. The point is not without significance. It is in alignment with Thrasher's discovery about the prevalence of juvenile delinquency in those Chicago areas where adult patterns of vice and crime abound. (31)

⁽³⁰⁾ Lillian D. Wald, "Windows on Henry Street," Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1934. p. 14.

⁽³¹⁾ Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Gang". University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.

Other sections of Manhattan have fewer offenders, especially juvenile delinquents. Uniformly the actual numbers, and the population and square block rates are lower. Except that the petty offender group is third in percentage, there is no deviation from borough trends. Manhattan offenders resident elsewhere than in substandard areas, average as follows:

Offenders	Actual Number	∜ of Total	Per 1000 Population	Per Square Block
Arrests	25, 357	22.	28.12	15.79
Convictions				
Juvenile Delinquents	470	13.	4.59	. 29
Female Offenders	914	29.	2.25	.57
Petty Offenders	9,618	24.	12.03	5.99
Misdemeanants	2,593	23.	3.24	1.62
Felons	452	24. 23. 25.	.57	. 28
Total	14,047			
Median Rate		23.4	15.58	8.75

At first sight, a sectional comparison of offender distribution in Brooklyn would seem impractical. Residents of the five substandard areas constitute only three per cent of all save the juvenile group. The latter contains six per cent., which is compatible with the larger borough picture. Comparisons of actual numbers, however, are less revealing than population and square block rates. Consistently these are higher for the substandard than for other sections of Brooklyn, thereby paralleling the situation in Manhattan. The appended table embodies the statistics of Brooklyn substandard areas collectively.

Offenders	Actual Number	% of Total	Per 1000 Population	Per Square Block
Arrests	3, 705	3.	28.95	7,50
Convictions				-
Juvenile Delinquency	226	6.	7.62	. 46
Female Offenders	95	3.	2.05	. 19
Petty Offenders	1,286	3.	13.08	2.60
Misdemeanants	378	3.	3.85	.76
Enlana.	£7	1 5	5.0	4.0

OFFENDER FREQUENCY IN BROOKLYN SLUM AREA

TABLE #7

Median Rate

The fewer numbers and the lower percentage of female offenders are apparent. Both in Manhattan as a whole and

2.042

3.4

15.96

DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTS 1930

MANHATTAN & BROOKLYN

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER & TYPE OF OFFENSE

COMPUTED ON THE BASIS OF CONVICTIONS PER 1,000 POPULATION

OFFENCE	MAN. SLUM	MAN. NON SLUM	BKLYN SLUM	BKLYN NON SLUM
AGAINST PERSON		9 7 5 3 9ER 1	10	
AGAINST CHASTITY		9 7 5 3	2	
AGAINST FAMILY	***************************************	9 7 5 3 9 PER 1	2	500,000
AGAINST PROPERTY		9 7 7 5 5 5 5 1 PER 1	2	
AGAINST, PUB. PEACE		9 7 3 3	3 1000	
		CHART Nº 2		١

in its slum areas, they rank third; - exclusive, of course, of the arrest unit. In the Brooklyn areas they drop to fourth position, being displaced by juvenile delinquents. Group frequencies in the non-slum part of Brooklyn are tabulated as follows:

TABLE #8 OFFENDER FREQUENCY IN BROOKLYN NON-SLUM SECTION

Offenders	Actual Number	% of Total	Per 1000 Population	Per Square 81ock
Arrests	35,447	31.5	16.67	4.66
Convictions				
Juvenile Delinquents	1,857	49.5	4.75	. 24
Female Offenders	553	18.	.64	.07
Petty Offenders	12,224	30.5	7.05	1.61
Misdemeanants	3, 328	29.	1.92	. 44
Felons	489	26.5	.28	.06
Total	18,451			
Median Rate		30.8	8.68	2.42

The only comparison valid between Manhattan and Brooklyn substandard areas is one involving population and square block ratios. In these respects, Manhattan areas taken collectively, lead in crime and juvenile delinquency. Although less severe, the situation in Brooklyn is by no means mild. Deteriorated areas there, as elsewhere, have high crime and delinquency rates.

Offender Concentration

Four Manhattan areas contain the densest offender concentrations. As can be seen on the spot maps, the four are paired. They are Areas 6 and 8 in Harlem, and 3 and 4 on the lower East Side. Offender frequencies for the Manhattan areas are summarized in the following table.

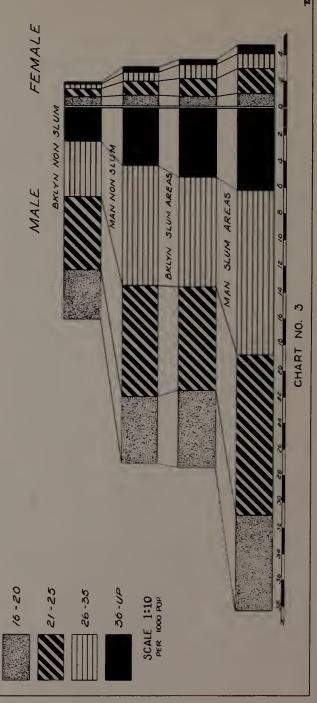
TABLE #9 OFFENDER CONCENTRATION IN MANHATTAN SLUM AREAS

AREAS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	. 8	8A	TOTAL
ARRESTS	3,660	1,791	7,361	3,665	1,.292	5,835	105	7,796	2,870	34.375
CONVICTIONS										
Juvenile Del. Fem.Offenders Petty " Misdemeanants Felons	76 227 1,319 413 77	42 23 718 147 18	157 94 2,488 484 112	185 96 1,400 278 52	41 19 427 116 11	306 157 1,969 521 82	33 11 1	223 439 1,610 1,094 159	63 122 806 396 84	1,107 1,177 10,770 3,460 596
TOTAL	2,112	948	3, 335	2,011	614	3,035	59	3,525	1,471	17,110

DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTS - 1930

MANHATTAN & BROOKLYN - BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER SHOWING AGE & SEX OF OFFENDER

COMPUTED ON THE BASIS OF ARRESTS PER 1000 POPULATION



Areas 6 or 8, both in Harlem, it will be noted, lead in all but one, the petty offender group. In that, Area 3 assumes first place. The most juvenile delinquents resided in Area 6 which also had the third highest number of arrests, and ranks second in petty offenders and misdemeanants. Significantly, Area 1, which borders on the so-called "Great White Way" district, ranks second in female offender frequency. A like position is held by Area 3 in respect to felons.

TABLE #10 OFFENDER CONCENTRATION IN MANHATTAN SLUM AREAS
In Ratio To One Thousand Population

AREAS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	84	MEDIAN
ARRESTS	37.98	37.96	50.59	33. 41	21.79	35.80	16.32	72.31	44.51	42.96
CONVICTIONS										
Juvenile Del.	6.20							18.39		
Fem. Offenders	5.55					2.56		8.91		3.68 16.25
Petty * Misdemeanants	4.90	3.68		3.13				11.42		
Felons	.91	. 45	.97	.59	. 22		. 22	1.66		.9

As can be seen in the above table, variations occur most in the rates per one thousand of potential offender population. The highest rates for juvenile delinquents are in Area 8. Second in offender ratio to population is Area 4, although Area 6 had the more juvenile delinquents per square block.

TABLE #11 OFFENDER CONCENTRATION IN MANHATTAN SLUM AREAS
IN Ratio To The Square 8lock

AREAS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	8.8	MEDIAN
ARRESTS	29.51	11.13	30.54	29.56	18.73	30.71	9.54	73.55	54. 15	31.86
CONVICTIONS										
Juvenile Del. Fem. Offenders Petty " Misdemeanants Felons	.61 1.83 10.61 3.33 .62	. 26 . 14 4. 46 . 92 . 11	.63 .39 10.34 2.00	1. 49 .78 11. 28 2. 24 .42	.59 .28 6.18 1.67 .16	1.61 .83 9.65 2.74 .43	1. 27 3.00 1.00 .09	2. 10 4. 14 15. 18 10. 31 1. 50	1. 19 2. 30 15. 22 7. 47 1. 58	1.02 1.09 10.0 3.20 .55

Area 8A is projected into prominence by the computations shown above. It is the tract selected for illustrative purposes in this survey, the findings of which bear out the viewpoint that it is a severe delinquency area. In offender ratio to the square block, Area 8A leads

the felon and petty, is second in the arrest, female and misdemeanant groups and fifth in juvenile delinquents.

No single area in Brooklyn predominates in all offender units. The three most conspicuous are Areas 9, 11 and 12. Felon, female offender and misdemeanant frequencies put Area 9 in first place. The most arrests and juvenile delinquents were in Area 11 and the most petty offenders in Area 12. The following setups give the relative positions of the five Brooklyn areas.

TABLE #12 OFFENDER CONCENTRATION IN BROOKLYN SLUM AREAS

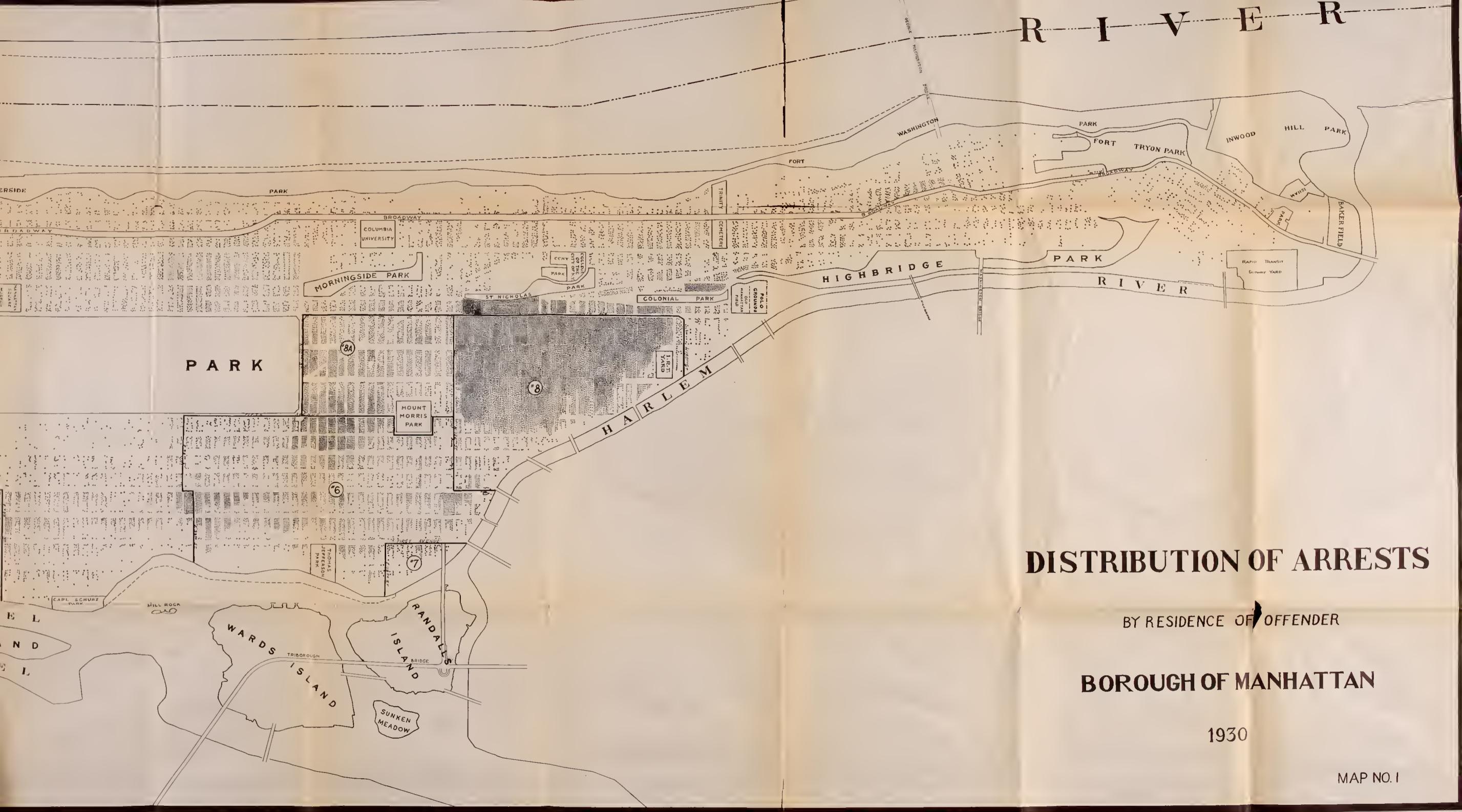
AREAS	9	10	11	12	13	TOTAL
ARRESTS	7 20	721	1,099	710	455	3,705
CONVICTIONS						
Juvenile Delinquents Female Offenders Petty Offenders Misdemeanants Felons	48 52 257 109 21	46 11 209 65 7	60 18 298 104 18	54 9 334 54 9	18 5 188 46 2	226 95 1, 286 378 57
TOTAL	487	338	498	460	259	2,042

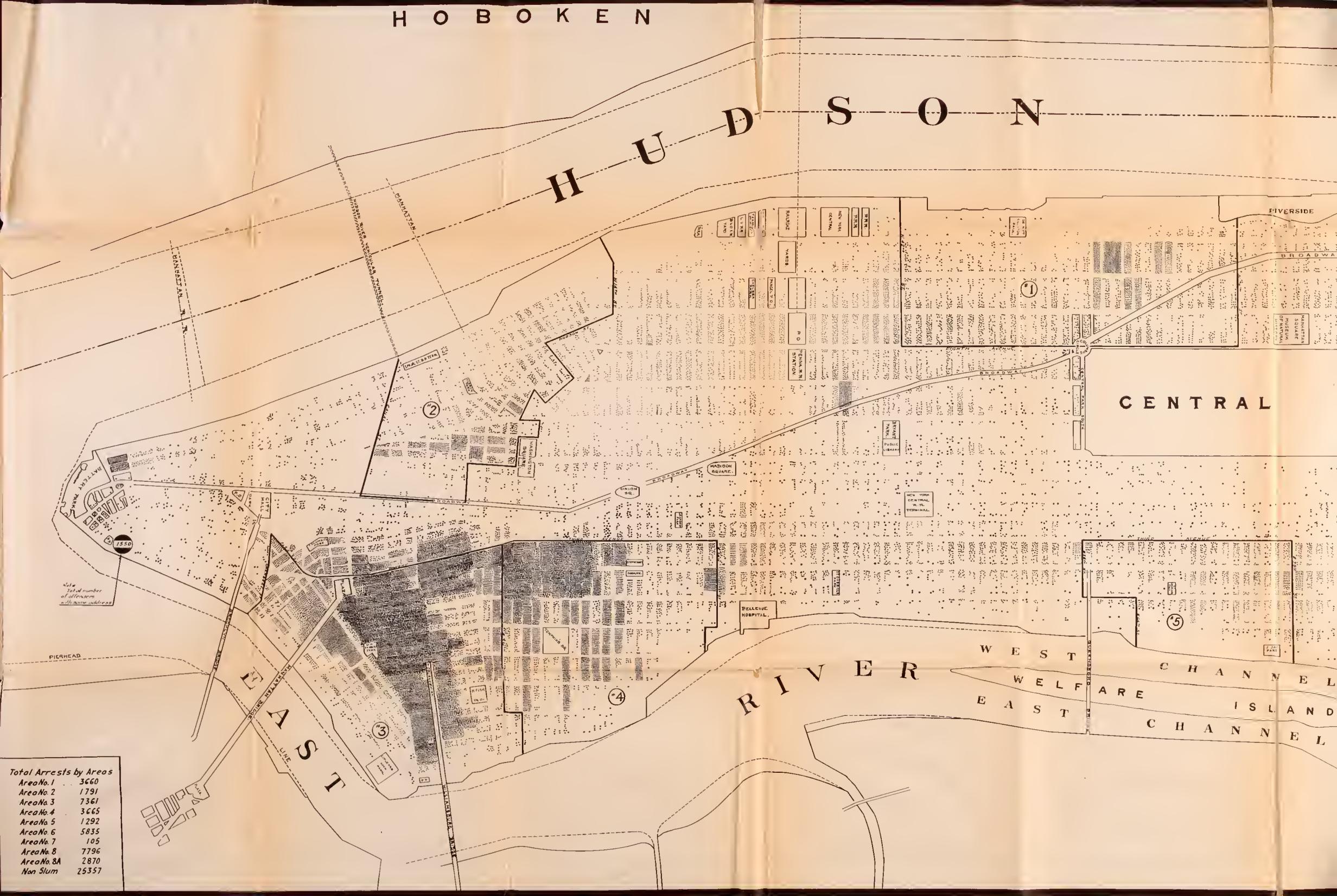
Observable are the varied population and square block rates for offender units. Measured by these indicia, Area 12 led in arrests, juvenile delinquents and petty offenders, and second in female offenders, misdemeanants and felons. Area 9 led in all other offender groups, as can be seen by glancing at the table below.

TABLE #13 OFFENDER CONCENTRATION IN BROOKLYN SLUM AREAS
In Ratio To One Thousand Population

AREAS	9	10	11	12	13	MEDIAN
ARRESTS	36.37	18.66	29.98	46.82	25.68	28.95
CONVICTIONS						
Juvenile Del. Fem. Offenders Petty Misdemeanants Felons	10.06 7.47 17.12 7.26 1.40	5.35 .77 6.95 2.16 .23	6.71 1.32 10.75 3.75	15.84 1.55 28.41 4.59	4.61 .86 12.69 3.11	7.62 2.05 13.08 3.85 .58

As in Manhattan, there are offender concentrations outside the substandard areas - notably in Red Hook, or Area 13. From the standpoint of delinquency, the boundaries of this area are inadequate. Immediately to the north,







as the spot maps will reveal, there is a marked clustering of offenders. The ratio of offenders to the square block in Brooklyn slum areas is contained in the table below.

TABLE #14 OFFENDER CONCENTRATION IN BROOKLYN SLUM AREAS
In Ratio To The Square Block

AREAS	9	10	11	12	13	MEOLAN
ARRESTS	8. 37	4.94	11. 21	16.13	3.80	7.50
CONVICTIONS						
Juvenile Oel. Fem.Offenders Petty " Misdemeanants Felons	. 56 . 61 2. 98 1. 26	.31 .08 1.43 .45	.61 .18 3.04 1.06	1.23 .21 7.59 1.22	.15 .04 1.57 .39	. 46 . 19 2. 60 . 76 . 12

2. Offender Mobility

Offender mobility, especially in a city like New York, presents a serious problem, both in police administration and crime prevention. Knowledge of where the most offenses are perpetrated is obviously a prelude for effective action in reducing crime. Knowledge of where the most delinquents reside likewise is a sine qua non for the social improvement of their environment.

The center of offender gravitation can be assumed to lie in Manhattan. The assumption was tested in this study, by comparing the delinquent's home address with the place of his offense. The groups selected for the test were the female, the petty offender, the misdemeanant and the felon. Since they are incorporated in the statistical tables, the findings will be summarized.

idents distributed through the four groups, committed offenses in Manhattan. Principally inhabitants of the non-slum section, their delinquent incursions were into the similar section of Manhattan. The bulk of the migrants are found in the petty offender and misdemeanant groups, with the migrant felons outnumbering female offenders.

The number of Manhattan delinquents invading Brooklyn

Although the majority came from substandard areas, they perpetrated their offenses mainly in the non-slum section of Brooklyn. The frequencies of the groups are about the same as for the Brooklyn migrants. An exception, however, is the low number of female offenders. Twenty-five residents of Manhattan were convicted in Brooklyn as against one hundred and thirty nine from the latter borough who were found guilty in the Manhattan Women's Court. Both the interborough and the intra sectional movements of offenders are described statistically in the table below.

TABLE #15 INTERBOROUGH MOBILITY OF OFFENDERS

	FEMALE OFFENDERS	PETTY OFFENDERS	MISDEMEANANTS	FELONS	TOTAL
MANHATTAN TO BROOKLYN	25	583	183	83	874
8ROOKLYN TO MANHATTAN	139	1.839	773	169	2,920

INTRA SECTIONAL MOBILITY OF OFFENDERS

		FEMALE O	PETTY OFFENDERS							
FROM	TO M	ANHATTAN NON-SLUM	TO 8	ROOKLYN INON-SLUM	TO MA	NON-SLUM	TO BROOKLYN			
MAN.SLUM MAN.NON-SLUM BKN.SLUM 8KN.NON-SLUM	9 3 3 175 12 45	226 732 9 73	5 1 53 45	13 6 21 390	5,802 2,103 31 403	4,649 7,251 78 1,327	36 38 665 703	283 226 512 9.791		
		MISDEM	EANANTS	5	FELONS					
MAN.SLUM MAN.NON-SLUM 8KN.SLUM BKN.NON-SLUM	2,257 512 12 151	1,112 1,989 37 573	11 16 175 132	80 76 154 2,472	328 109 3 29	225 303 26 111	5 6 14 24	38 34 4 325		

Intra Sectional Mobility. More individuals perpetrated offenses in their own than in other neighborhoods. Two exceptions, however, must be noted; both of which involve Brooklyn and particularly the residents of substandard areas. Fewer of these committed felonies and misdemeanors in their own neighborhood than elsewhere. Manhattan offers a contrasting picture. There the movement of offenders was from the slum into the non-slum section; thereby being dissimilar to that in Brooklyn.

Twice as many offenders from deteriorated areas pene-

TABLE I DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTS - 1930

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER AND OFFENSE

		HANHATTAN AREAS GROOKLTN ARE									ARE			ион Т							
	OFF E#\$E	i ,	Z	3	ų	5	6	7		BA	SLUM TOTAL	RON- SLUM	9	10	11	12		SLUM TOTAL	HON- SLUM	RES. MAR. BEH.	TOTAL
-	OFFENSES AGAINST THE PERSON													-		3			3.01	•••	
	ABORTION ASSAULT, FELONY ATTEMPTED ASSAULT, FELONY ASSAULT, MISOEMEANOR NOMICIOE HIOMAPPING MINOR: Endengering Heelth of	96 20 2	23 6	1 161 4 128 46 1	95 116 15 3	21 21 23 16 1	5 150 99 46	3	256 86 46 1	75 100 14	16 876 5 673 209 9	28 590 11 596 186		1 24 39 6	21 44 10	17 28:	22 12 4			228 2 420 172 13	78 2,745 23 3,798 1,034 33
┢	TOTAL	203	64	341	232	62	302	5	390	169	1,788	1,415	66	70	75	51	38	300	3,367	844	7,714
11	OFFENSES AGAINST CHASTITY ABOUCTION OEGENERACY INOECENT EXPOSURE OISOROERLY HOUSE	6 7 1	1 1 8 1	6 6 8	1 1 10	1 5	1 5 10		1 2 5	31	10 22 56 5	29 15 146 25	1 3	1 6	2 8	4	1	4 1 22 5	24 8 232 14	12: 13: 52: 4	79 59 508 54
١	INCEST MINOR: Impulring Horels of OBSCENE PRINTS PROSTITUTION RAPE ATTEMPTED RAPE SEOUCTION SOPONT	12 1 312 14	1 5 36 8	1 5 6 189 42	5 5 141 30 1 4	6 17 10	1 8 2 160 62	1 2	5 2 581 68 2	2 1 168 31	2 44 22 1,605 267 3 15 24	2 39 21 1,008 196	10	16	3 6 33 14	20 2		1 10 7	9 88 36 916	1 16 12 342	15 197 100 4,071 961 27 51
H	TOTAL	357	62	268	198	40	267	3	671	210		1,512			67	28	20			526	6,218
-	I OFFENSES AGAINST THE FAMILY			1	1							-	100				-				
1	ABANDONMENT BIGAMT IMPROPER GUARDIANSHIP HINDR: Falling to Provide For PATERNITY PROCEEDINGS	5 2 5 3 4	2	8224	3:	3 1	3 4 24		4 31	4	33 16 7 14 56	40 21 2 5 42	1	1 5	2	1 1	3	6 1 2 11	25 11 9	18	186 81 28 30 342
	TOTAL	19	3	20	12	6	21		39	16	1 36	110	2	6	3	2	7	20	299	102	667
	OFFERSES AGAINST PROPERTY	3		2	1	1			,	3	15	13				1	1	3	25	5	61
	BURGLARY ATTEMPTEO GURGLARY FORGERY ORANG LARCENY HILLENGTH TRANS LARCENY FRAUS	71 3 11 146 5 13	32 4 70	112 4 16 156 11	66 7 9 91 5	33 1 3 55	132 3 11 161		180 11 229 7	5 2 2 5 60	678 20 70 972 10 51	12 86 971	7 4 24 2		4 5 27	2	15	13	126 1,392	16 85 706	89 377 4,140
	PETIT LARCENT ATTEMPTED PETIT LARCENT RECEIVING STOLEN GOODS ROBBERY ATTEMPTED ROBBERY UNLAWFUL ENTRY	103 3 50 1 8		252 15 86 5 19		41 2 13 1 4	109 6 107 4 5			63 2 45	1,002 7 51	935 1 47 305 13	17 1 12 2	11	23 5 15 3	12	6	78 9 43 5	1,162 89 475 17	900 1 35 162 10	
	TOTAL	421	201	694	356	156	539	14	843	_	3,471				101	65	36	347	1		13,118
	OFFERSES AGAINST PUBLIC PEACE AND ORDER ORIGERY CONSPIRACY CONTEMPT OF COURT OISOROERLY CONDUCT EXTORTION FORTUME YELLING FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE GAMBLING INTOXICATION	1,659 5,3 46 391 197	1,070 3 1 5 209 50	5 4, 265 5 2 9 962 197	2,071 5 11 266 132	603 1 1 238 96	3, 135 3 6 14 566 327	17	6 1 25 863	2 2 6 385 89	30 16 116 3,897	1 16 16 13,187 33 25 152 2,375 1,358	3 1 74	1 72	1 4 155	1 80	1 42	1 7 4 423	3, 114	5,642 24 115 549	122 69 476 10.358 6.050
ŀ	JOSTLING MALICIOUS MISCHIEF MARCOTICS PERJURT POSSESSION OF BURGLAR'S TOOLS	1 19 77 3	10 14	28 139 3 9	24 37	6 7	1		19 55	13 54	419 3 17	140 293 6	19	1 1	7 5	1	5	32	181 22 23	107 5 6	15 543 1,032 37 58
	POSSESSION OF MEAPONS YAGRANCY YIOLATION OF PAROLE YIOLATION OF PROBATION WAYWARD MINOR	53 55 55 3	8 14 1 3 6	77 108 12 3 51	47 72 9 4 23	9 12 4 1 9	108 81 12 45	1 1 2	99 116 13 5 20	37 59 2 1	439 518 56 17 182	278 531 49 29 159	12		19 6 1 1 4		6	26	396 84 133	1,142 27 19	227
	TOTAL	2,529	1,396	5,875	2,713	990	4, 353	72	5,437	2,094	25,459	18,660	407	491	795	519	340	2.552	23,765	9, 181	79,617
	FELONIES-UNCLASSIFIEO MISDEMEANORS-UNCLASSIFIEO	10	12	12	7	6	5		14	2	2 68	96	4	1	1	5		11	15 116		27 303
	JUVENILE OELINQUENTS	120	53	151	147	32	348	11	401	112	1,375	591	16	50	57	40	14	177	2,004	352	4,499
L	ORANO TOTAL	3,660	1,791	7,361	3,665	1,292	5,835	105	7,796	2,870	34,375	25, 357	720	721	1,099	710	455	3,705	35, 447	13,279	112,163



trated other sections in Manhattan than vice versa. The ealeulation, however, does not allow for the distance traversed. In many instances it was short, delinquent incursions extending merely across the line dividing a slum from a non-slum section. Even when exception is made for such cases, the figure given indicates the trend. It is readily understandable, especially when the offenses committed are against property rights. Such crimes predominate in the felony group. There were, for example 225 felons, all residents of deteriorated areas who went elsewhere in Manhattan in order to commit crimes. Less than half the number, actually 109 felons, entered deteriorated areas for the same purpose.

Intra Area Mobility. A detailed analysis of offender mobility between substandard areas is here impractical for reasons of space and the inadequacy of any conclusions based on it. The heaviest movement is naturally between adjacent areas. An instance is that between Areas 6 and 8, and again between Areas 3 and 4, in Manhattan. For all practical purposes, particularly those of studies in criminal distribution, the latter pair may be considered as one area.

The Brooklyn areas are all separated but between them, offender mobility is perceptible. It is most pronounced between Areas 10 and 11 and in turn from these into Area 9. Residents of the last, however, made more delinquent incursions into Manhattan than into Brooklyn areas; especially into Areas 3 and 4, which are almost directly across the East River. The mobility of other area residents is described arithmetically in Table XVI.

Resumé of Findings. A brief resumé will help to clarify the foregoing findings in the reader's mind. As with all statisties, they have the feel of ice. None the less they are the corner stones on which generalizations about offender distribution can be erected.

- 1. The severity of crime and juvenile delinquency is greater in Manhattan than Brooklyn.
- 2. The most offender concentrations occur in Manhattan. They coincide with population congestion, vary in degree of severity and are mainly in Harlem and the lower East Side. Although largely within, they are not confined exclusively to substandard areas.
- 3. The slum areas collectively have higher offender ratios to population and to the square block than the non-slum sections of Manhattan. The incidence rates of juvenile delinquency in the slum are high and suggest the possibility that adult patterns of misconduct are emulated freely.
- 4. One third the total number of felons convicted in Manhattan and Brooklyn during 1930 resided in the substandard areas of the first named borough. While the larger proportion committed crimes within their own neighborhood, more felons went out of these areas than entered them for the commission of offenses.
- 5. Offender mobility is away from the substandard areas in Manhattan; towards them in Brooklyn. More Brooklyn delinquents went to Manhattan than vice versa. Offender mobility between the slum areas is greatest where they are adjacent.
- 6. The higher incidence rates of crime and juvenile delinquency indicate that the substandard are major delinquency areas. Conclusions about the causes of this situation cannot be arrived at scientifically unless the case method is the approach used.

CHAPTER FOUR

OFFENSE DISTRIBUTION

Descriptions of crime severity differ. It is not an uncommon practice to label that area a crime breeder which has the most offenders. The label is more eye catching than correct. Every offender manifestly is not a criminal. Nor yet in the deeper meaning of the phrase is headelinquency problem.

An individual may be charged with Disorderly Conduct. Perhaps his offense involved a street fight, in which many others may have been implicated. The problem in such a case may only be one of collective behavior. Another individual, to cite the example of a serious offender, is charged with the sale of narcotics. Investigation discloses that it is a business and that he has not hesitated to sell drugs to school children. Apart from the profit motive, such an offense may have been conditioned by personal disorganization, climaxed by moral depravity.

The purpose here is neither to examine nor to enumerate all offenses. From a wide variety, the most recurrent alone are presented. In the absence of rates over a period of several years, it is not assumed that they are characteristic offenses, especially of slum dwellers. No more than their scarcity in non-slum sections is assumed to be a sign of law observance by persons living there.

Arrests. Most persons were arrested for offenses against public peace and order. In Manhattan these constituted 39.2 per cent., in Brooklyn 23 per cent. of the total offenses examined. The Manhattan slum areas accounted for 42 per cent., the Brooklyn, 6.5 per cent. of the borough totals. Non-slum sections are credited with 31, and 60 per cent. respectively in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

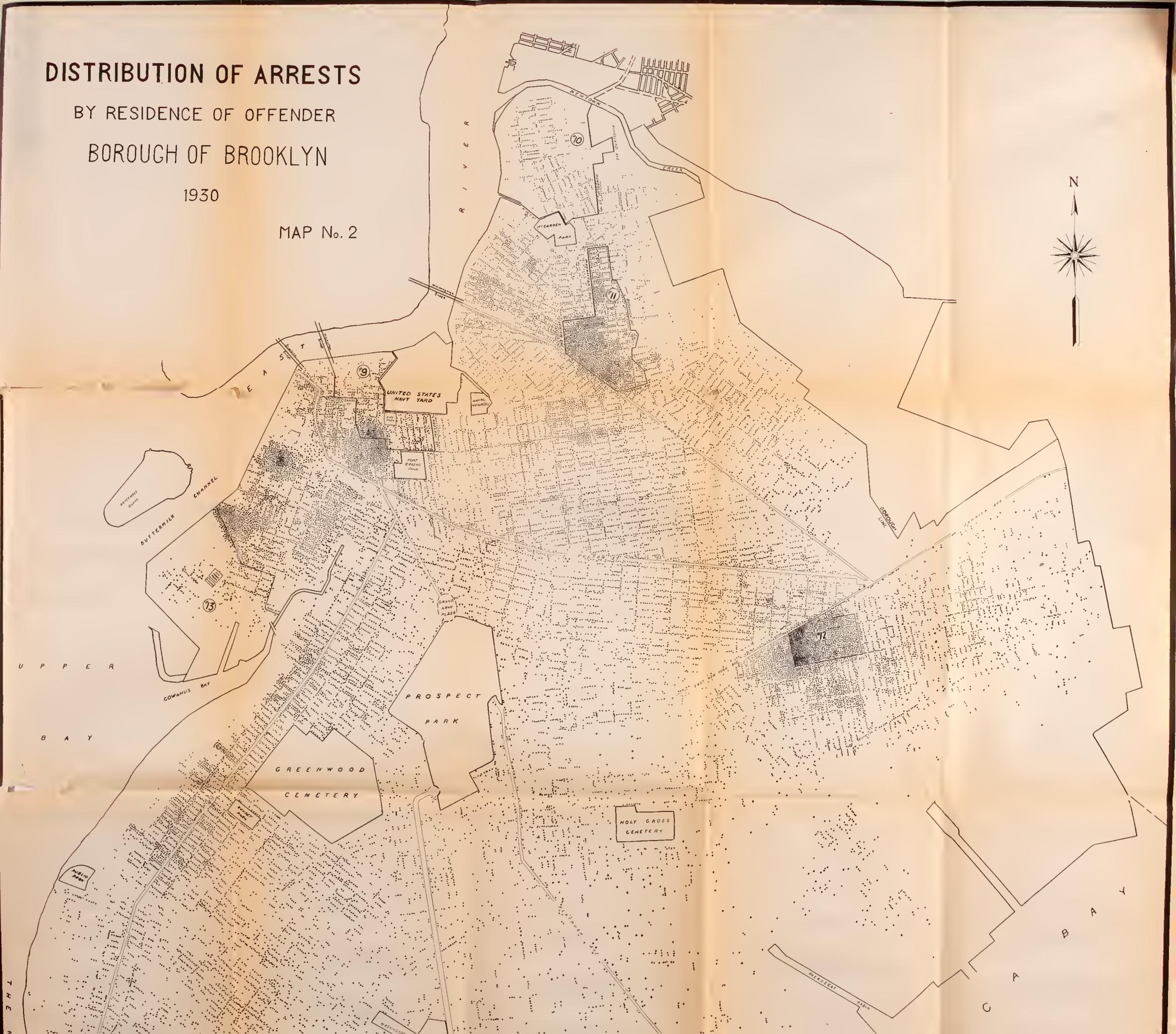
Offenders from other boroughs and outside the city were responsible for the remainder.

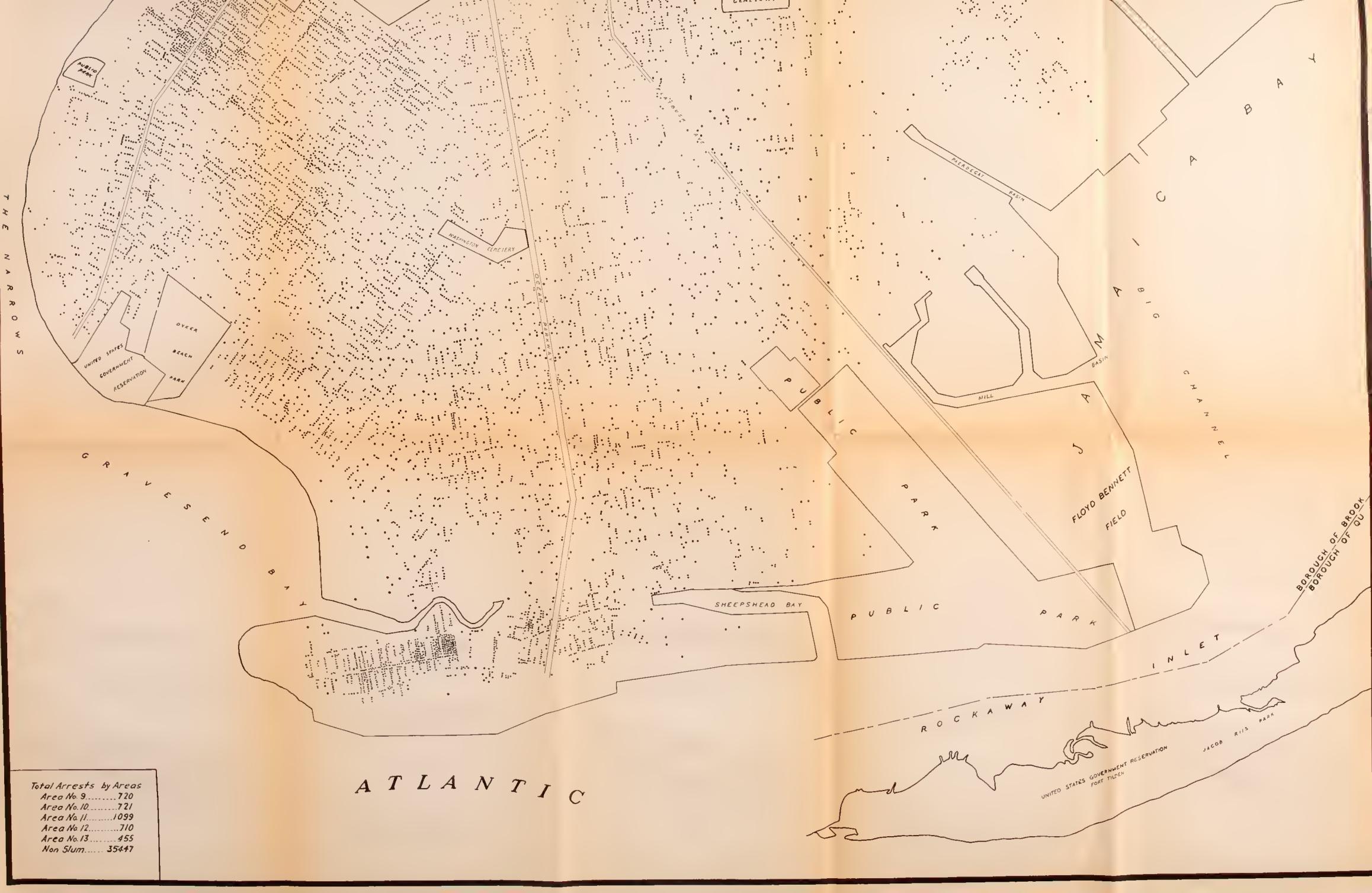
Disorderly Conduct is the major, while gambling and Intoxication are the other predominant charges in this group. More such offenses were credited to residents of Manhattan than of Brooklyn. Excepting Intoxication, the Manhattan slums accounted for the larger percentage of the borough offense total. The reverse situation obtained in Brooklyn.

Offenses against Property ranked second. Grand Larceny, Petit Larceny and Burglary comprised the majority in this classification. Again more Manhattan than Brooklyn residents were convicted on such charges. The non-slum section of Manhattan contained fewer alleged offenders than the slums. As table No. 16 illustrates, offenses

TABLE #16 OFFENSES ALLEGED AGAINST PERSONS ARRESTED

OFFENSE	NUMBER	% OF GRAND TOTAL	% OF GROUP TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF BORO TOTAL	% OF GROUP TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF BORO TOTAL	% OF GROUP TOTAL	
MANHATTAN	BOROUGH				SLUM		NON-SLUM			
PUBLIC PEACE	44,075	39.2		25, 415	42.		18,660	31.		
DIS. CONDUCT GAMBLING INTOXICATION	31.480 6.272 2,648	27.9 5.6 2.4	71. 14. 5.7	18, 293 3, 897 1, 290	31. 6.5 2.2	72. 15. 5.	13,187 2,375 1,358	22. 4. 2.3	70. 13. 7.2	
PROPERTY GR. LARCENY PET. LARCENY BURGLARY	6,431 1,943 1,937 1,084	5.7 1.7 1.7	30. 30. 17.	3,458 972 1,002 678	5.8 1.6 1.7 1.1	28. 29. 20.	2,973 971 935 406	5. 1.6 1.5	33. 31. 14.	
CHASTITY	3,586	3.2		2,076	3.5		1,510	2.5		
PROSTITUTION RAPE IND. EXPOS.	2,613 463 202	2.3	73. 13. 5.6	1,605 267 56	2.7 .5 .1	77. 13. 2.7	1,008 196 146	1.7	66. 13. 9.7	
BROOKLYN		BOROUGH			SLUM		NON-SLUM			
PUBLIC PEACE	26,230	23.		2,535	6.5		23,695	60.		
DIS. CONDUCT GAMBLING INTOXICATION	18, 264 3, 537 2, 259	16. 3.1 2.	70. 13.4 8.6	1,703 423 216	4. 4 1. 1 .6	67. 17. 8.5	16,561 3,114 2,043	42. 8. 5.2	70. 13. 8.5	
PROPERTY	4,363	3.9		340	. 9		4,023	10.3		
GR. LARCENY PET. LARCENY BURGLARY	1,491 1,240 676	1.3 1.1 .6	34. 28. 15.	99 78 62	.3	29. 23. 18.	1, 39 2 1, 16 2 6 14	3.6 3. 1.5	34. 29. 15.	
PERSON	3,667	3.3		300	.8		3, 367	8.6		
ASSAULT MISD. ASSAULT FEL. HOWICIDE	2, 109 1,051 467	1.9	57. 29. 13.	1 39 1 27 3 3	.4	46. 42. 11.	1,970 924 434	5. 2.4 1.1	58. 27. 13.	







against Chastity in Manhattan, offenses against the person in Brooklyn comprise the third group. Prostitution is the foremost charge in one, Assault as a misdemeanor, in the other category. The Manhattan slums have a higher, the Brooklyn ones a lower percentage of their respective borough totals for these charges.

Juvenile Delinquency. Stealing tops the offenses of which juveniles were adjudged delinquent. Desertion of home ranks next in Manhattan, and Begging and Peddling in Brooklyn. As compared with 76 non-slum residents 190 delinquents in the Manhattan slums ran away from home. The latter section as compared to the non-slum had more than twice the number who were ungovernable and wayward.

Higher also in the Manhattan slums are the juvenile rates for Disorderly Conduct, Burglary and Unlawful Entry. The number of juveniles who deserted their homes does not include cases handled by schools, private agencies and the Crime Prevention Bureau. There is no denial that the number dealt with by these agencies would raise the total.

Truancy is an invariable accompaniment of home desertion. Both represent "escape" reactions and figure conspicuously in the early careers of adult offenders. The desire for adventure, is also a conditioning factor, as the following statement of the New York State Crime Commission bears out:

"The urban child from a broken home is not so restricted as the normal child. He travels long distances in search of adventure, by elevated and surface lines, by subways, ferries and tunnels. In New York City he wanders to Pelham Bay Park for swimming; to Coney Island for the beach, the boardwalk, the marvelous amusement parks with their swings and roller coasters; to Staten Island by ferry,

in order to shine shoes or steal from unwatched automobiles while their chauffeurs stretch their legs on deck; from the Bronx and East Side, to the bright lights of Broadway, to sell newspapers, black boots, watch cars and beg; from all sections of the city to Newspaper Row in lower Manhattan, to purchase newspapers from 'speculators'." (32)

The above picture best delineates the adventure quest of many juvenile delinquents. Their number is not the only problem. The type of offenses perpetrated is equally a matter for social concern. The more so, since there is a continuation of these into adolescent life, as instanced by burglaries and larcenies, to mention the most glaring examples. The problem of the adolescent accordingly appears to be one also of prolonged juvenile misbehavior. How serious juvenile delinquency is in the slums of Manhattan can be appreciated by a glance at the following table:

TABLE #17 DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

OFFENSES	NUMBER	% OF GRAND TOTAL	% OF GROUP TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF BORO TOTAL	% OF GROUP TOTAL	NUM8ER	% OF BORO TOTAL	% OF GROUP TOTAL	
MANHATTAN	BOROUGH				SLUM		NON-SLUM			
PROPERTY	628	16.8		440	28.		188	12.		
STEALING BURGLARY UNLAWFUL ENTRY	39 3 178 47	10.5 4.7 1.3	63. 28. 7.5	263. 138 32	16.7 8.8 2.	60. 31. 7.3	130 40 15	8.3 2.5 .9	69. 21. 8.	
DESERTION HOME	266	7.1		190	12.		76	4.8		
UNGOV. CHILD & WAYWARD	257	6.9		177	11.2		80	5.1		
DIS. CONDUCT	245	6.5		178	11.3		67	4.3		
8ROOKLYN	8	BOROUGH			SLUM		NON-SL UM			
PROPERTY	7 20	19.2		123	5.9		597	28.6		
STEALING BURGLARY UNLAWFUL ENTRY ROBBERY	386 297 19 18	10.4 8. .5 .5	54. 41. 2.5 2.5	55 59 8	2.6 2.8	45. 48. 6.5	331 238 18	16. 11.5 .8	55. 5 40. 3.	
PEDDLING & BEGGING	384	10.3					374	17.		
DIS. CONDUCT	30 1	8.1		27	1.3		274	13.		
DESERTION HOME	288	7.7		31	1. 1		257	12.4		
UNGOV. CHILD & WAYWARD	126	3.4		18	.8					

^{(32) &}quot;Crime and the Community" A report of the New York State Crime Commission, Albany, 1930, p. 130.

TABLE NO. II

DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTS - 1930

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER, TYPE OF OFFENSE, AGE GROUPS AND SEX

		JUVENILE 4 D U L T A G E G R O U P S ARR. ARR.	A AREA JUVENILE 40 ULT AGE GROUPS	
are.	TANE OF OFFERSE	7 to 15 TB to 20 21 to 25 26 to 35 Over 35 TO TAL Per Per N F M F M F M F N F SQ. BL. 8000 OFFENDERS	A AREA JUVENILE 4 0 U L T A G E G R C U P S TIPE OF OFFENSE 7 Lo (5) 16 to 20 21 (9 25 24 (0 35) Over 35	TOTAL PER PER OFFERDERS
a STATES	PULATION BY AGE GROUP	5, 291 5, 959 4, 439 4, 212 4, 650 4, 422 11, 083 10, 514 22, 977 21, 802 49, 450 45, 919 95, 359 23 2 50 8 60 9 45 5 178 25 1,64 2,10 203	POPULATION BY 46E GROUP 71,48T 56,051 44,417 41,236 44,405 41,360 88,321 93,327 265,316 754,294	H F 59.8L. 1000
POPUL	TION CHASTITY 525 FAMILY	5 27 25 102 24 102 26 46 80 277 2.88 3.70 357 5 6 9 4 4 19 277 2.88 3.70 79	H	13,940 396,168 800,108 1,642 137 1.65 2.22 1.779 677 1.399 1.92 2.59 2.078
I SQUARE	PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE UNCLASSIFIED	177 23 390 19 R35 53 1.000 35 2.392 130 20.34 26.18 2.522	S SQUARE BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE 2.144 184 4.126 199 3.229 297 6.955 201	3.102 356 3.21 4.32 3.458
POP.PER	Q. BL.	303 58 555 137 1,034 178 1,172 96 3,064 469 28,49 36,66 3,533	L 1.070 UNCLASSIFIED 5 1 12 26 1 24 1 1	70 30,070 2.864 30.52 41.16 32,934
@ H 2	AREA TOTAL	100 27 303 58 555 137 1,034 178 1,172 95 3,164 495 29,51 37,98 3,660	S 831. JUVENILE DELINQUENT 1.228 213 3 311 441 5 424 817 11 036 945 10 200 650	1.228 213 1.34 1.80 1.441
ARREST	S PER 1000 POPULATION		ARRESTS PER 1000 POPULATION 17.18 3.22 74.52 10.69 122.14 19.75 124.96 11.35 62.30 4.28	31, 298 3,077 31, 86 42, 96 34, 375 75,62 7,97 42,96
	PULATION BY AGE GROUP	4,132 3,441 2,756 2,294 2,775 2,310 5,682 4,732 10,602 8,830 25,947 21,607 47,554 5 11 26 3 18 1 50 4 0.40 1.35 64 62 6 0.39 1.30 62	POPULATION BY AGE GROUP 2,566 2,214 1,252 1,079 1,177 1.014 1.754 1.513 3,877 3,349	10,626 9,169 19,735
POPUL 52.	PROPERTY	1	POPULATION CHASTITY 5 3 9 31 24 45 7 19 23,109 FAMILY	9 0.77 3.33 66 45 98 1.66 7.22 143 0.02 0.10
2 SQUARE TB	BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE UNCLASSIFIED 40ULT TOTAL	204 3 248 1 416 8 505 8 1.373 20 8.65 29.29 1.393 1 1 2 1 0.07 0.25 12 261 9 304 20 508 23 590 20 1.663 72 10.78 36.48 1.735	9 SQUARE BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE 39 5 68 5 131 6 134 7	62 13 0.87 3.79 75 372 23 4.59 19.96 395
POP.PER 32N	Q. BL.		POP.PER SQ. 81. 268.7 JUVENILE DELINQUENT 27 8	0.05 0.70 4 542 143 7.96 34.60 685
ARREST	AREA TOTAL S PER 1000 POPULATION	55 1 261 9 304 20 508 23 590 20 1,718 73 11,13 37.66 1,791 13.31 0.29 94.70 3.92 10.95 8.65 89.40 4.86 55.64 2.25 66.27 3.38 37.66	AREA TOTAL 27 8 78 14 105 45 194 56 165 28	27 8 0.41 1.77 35 569 151 8.37 36.37 720
•	PULATION BY ADE GROUP	16,081 13,789 8,951 7,684 8,308 7,124 11,352 9,734 33,528 28,835 78,330 57,165 145,496	ARRESTS PER 1000 POPULATION 10.52 3.61 6.39 12.97 89.21 4.44 11.06 37.01 42.55 8.36	53.53 16.47 36.37
POPUL	PERSON CHASTITY	20 3 69 4 95 3 135 3 328 13 1.42 2.34 341 11 30 35 48 38 21 48 37 132 136 1.11 1.84 268 5 1 5 8 1 18 2 0.08 0.14 20	POPULATION BY AGE GROUP 4.527 4,063 2,294 2,059 2,194 1,968 3,613 3,243 7,740 6,947 PERSON 6 1 9 10 2 37 5 POPULATION CHASTITY 2 2 7 2 9 3 8 3	67 8 0.48 1.01 70
103.	PROPERTY BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE	198 7 112 1 205 20 144 7 559 35 2.88 4.77 694 430 33 877 19 1.950 36 2.490 24 5.747 112 24.31 40.27 5.859	44,274 FAHILT 21 4 18 2 18 3 1	25 10 0.25 0.93 36 6 0.04 0.16 6 6 7 0.46 1.73 67
24	ADULT TOTAL	1 2 3 6 17 0.05 0.08 12 559 73 1,100 73 2,295 86 2,931 72 5,895 29.85 49.44 7,194	SQUARE SLOCAS PUBLIC PEACE 45 3 72 4 160 9 108 9 108 9 108	455 25 3.35 12.6A 490 0.01 0.03 1
POP.PER : 078	THEUDHILE DELINGUE, Z.		POP.PER SQ. BL. JUYENILE DELINQUENT 40 11	620 50 4,59 17,34 670 40 11 0.35 1.32 51
ARREST	S PER TOOD POPULATION	148 19 669 73 1,100 73 2,296 80 2,831 72 7,044 317 30.54 50.59 7,361 9.20 1.38 74.65 9.50 132.40 10.24 202.26 8.21 84.13 2.53 89.93 4.72 50.59	AREA TOTAL 40 11 74 10 107 8 198 14 241 18 ARRESIS PER 1000 POPULATION 8.84 2.71 32.25 4.86 48.77 4.07 54.80 4.32 31.14 2.59	860 61 4.94 18.66 721 32.40 3.34 18.66
101	ULATION BY AGE GROUP	10,919 10,191 6,113 5,705 5,881 5,489 9,914 9,25° 23,915 22,322 55,742 52,960 109,702	POPULATION BY AGE GAOUP 4,559 4,380 2,206 2,119 2,051 1,969 2,856 2,743 7,025 6,748	
POPUL 122,	TION CHASTITY 737 FAMILY	17 23 17 19 22 31 23 46 79 119 1.60 1.80 198 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12	POPULATION CHASTITY 10 1 8 5 8 7 15 12	18,697 17,959 36,656 70 5 0.77 2.04 75 41 26 0.68 1.83 67
S SQUARE	PROPERTY BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE UNCL45SIFIED	87 11 66 7 84 18 70 13 207 49 2.87 3.25 356 2.703 5 1 1.114 41 2.592 111 21.79 24.64 2.703 5 1 1 0.06 0.07 7		2 1 0.03 0.08 3 84 17 1.03 2.75 101
POP.PER	SQ. BL.	139 18 1.27 1.43 157	11 98 UNCLASSIFTED 1 140 15 209 19 238 21 354 33	951 88 10.60 28.34 1.039
989	AREA TOTAL	139 18 425 58 495 43 981 82 1.314 110 3.354 311 29.56 33.41 3.665	POP.PER SQ.BL. 433.8 JUVENILE DELINQUENT 47 13	47 13 0.61 1.64 60
ARREST	S PER TOOD POPULATION	12.73 1.78 69.52 10.17 84.17 7.83 98.94 8.86 54.94 4.93 59.11 5.87 33.41	ARRESTS PER 1000 POPULATION 10.31 2.97 63.46 7.08 101.90 9.65 83.33 7.68 51.81 4.89	996 101 11.21 29.99 1.099 53.38 5.62 29.99
	ULATION BT AGE DROUP	4,745 4,931 2,739 2,845 2,772 2,879 5,780 6,007 13,035 13,547 29,071 30,209 59,280 18 3 59 3 0.90 1.05 62	POPULATION BT AGE GROUP 1,728 1,680 1,018 981 926 900 1,143 1,112 2,877 2,799	7,692 7,472 15,164
POPUL 65.		5 6 9 3 11 2 29 11 0.58 0.67 40 5 1 0.09 0.10 6 5 5 1 0.09 0.10 6 5 5 1 0.09 0.10 6 6 5 1 0.09 0.10 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	POPULATION CHASTITY 2 2 7 3 7 6 1 1 1 7 3 1 7 6 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	47 4 1.15 3.36 51 11 17 0.64 1.85 28 2 0.04 0.13 2
5 SQUARE	BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE UNCLASSIFIED 40ULT TOTAL	62 7 150 3 375 2 381 9 968 21 14.33 16.68 989 6 0.09 0.10 6 124 12 197 12 444 9 439 20 1.204 53 18.22 21.20 1.257	SQUARE BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE 24 1 13 1 11 3 8 8 2 150 6 169 2	56 5 1.39 4.02 61 504 14 11.77 34.16 518
POP.PER 950	Q. 8L.		12 44 UNCLASSIFIED 2 2 1	5 0.11 0.33 5 625 40 15.11 43,85 665
ARREST	AREA TOTAL S PER 1000 POPULATION	33 2 124 12 197 12 444 9 439 20 1.237 55 18.73 21.79 1.292 6.93 0.40 45.23 4.21 70.92 4.15 78.56 1.50 33.68 1.48 42.55 1.82 21.79	393.8 JUVENILE DELINQUENT 43 2 116 8 127 10 177 18 205 4	43 2 1.02 2.97 45 668 42 15.13 45.82 710
	POLATION BY AGE ON DUP		ARRESTS PER 1000 POPULATION 24.90 1.19 113.95 8.15 137.15 11.11 154.HK 16.19 71.75 1.43	86.84 5.42 46.82
POPUL	PERSON CHASTITE	35 3 54 7 114 5 67 7 280 22 1.59 1.85 302 26 12 40 40 28 53 28 40 122 145 1.40 1.64 267	POPULATION BY AGE GROUP 2,274 1,631 1,145 821 1,121 803 2.054 1.507 3,692 2.666 PERSON 2 2 15 15 3	10,286 7,428 17,714 34 4 0.32 2.14 38
6 SOUARE	667 FAMILT PROPERTY BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE	1 179 5 104 17 144 15 59 16 486 53 2.84 3.31 539 389 45 670 21 1.765 47 1.344 71 4.169 184 22.91 26.70 4.353	POPULATION CHASTITY 3 1 5 4 2 1 2 1 1 5 4 1 1 5 1 4 1 1	9 11 0.17 1.13 20 7 0.06 0.40 7
	O UNCLASSIFIED ADULT TOTAL	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	SQUARE BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE 36 5 42 130 3 120 4 130 3 120 4	328 12 2.63 19.19 340
POP.PER			POP.PER SQ.BL. 171.4 JUVENILE DELINQUENT 13 1	411 30 3.68 24.89 441 13 1 0.12 0.79 14
ARRES	S PER 1000 POPULATION	317 35 631 66 885 85 2,060 120 1,506 134 5,394 441 30.71 35.80 5,835 17.08 2.14 63.23 7.19 90.95 9.48 118.84 7.3. 50.91 4.97 63.55 5.64 35.80	AREA TOTAL 13 1 59 8 55 4 153 10 144 8 ARRESTS PER 1000 POPULATION 5.74 0.61 51.53 9.74 49.01 4.98 74.49 5.64 39.00 3.00	424 3T 3.90 25.68 455 41.72 4.17 25.68
PO	PULATION BY AGE GROUP	972 872 365 344 364 325 596 534 1.077 965 3.394 3.040 6,434		
POPUL 7,1	ATION CHASTITY 61 FAMILY	1 2 1 0.27 0.47 3	B POPULATION CHASTITY 20 11 27 49 45 67 40 35	67,769 60,208 127,977 270 30 0.61 2.34 300 132 162 0.60 2.30 294
7 SQUARE	BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE UNCLASSIFIED	2 1 4 7 1 5 1 27 1 17 1 27 1 1 1.27 2.17 1.19 72	L 147,794 FAHILT 1 15 6 12 60 11 35 7 1 17 15 83 12 60 32 930 37	19 1 0.04 0.15 20 295 45 0.69 2.67 340 2.422 113 5.13 19.80 2.535
POP.PER 7 1	SQ. BL. AOULT TOTAL	7 9 2 9 2 9 2 1.00 1.71 1T	S 494 UNCLASSIFIED 1 3 3 4 3 91 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	11 0.02 0.09 11 3.149 351 7.09 27.35 3.500
	AREA TOTAL	9 2 20 3 12 1 25 2 28 3 94 11 9.54 16.32 105	L POP.PER SQ. BL. U 299.2 JUVENILE DELINQUENT 170 35	170 35 0.41 1.60 205
1ANAES	S PER 1000 POPULATION	9.24 2.29 5.19 8.72 32.97 3.08 41:95 3.75 28.00 3.11 27.69 3.62 16.32	3 ARRESTS PER 1000 POPULATION 10.89 2.51 59.00 7.79 79.67 13.12 84.06 11.76 44.39 4.04	3, 319 386 7, 50 28, 95 3, 705 48, 98 6, 41 78, 95
	PULATION BY AGE GROUP	5.903 6.226 4.953 5.224 5.608 5.915 16.298 17.189 19.714 20.794 52.476 55.348 107.824 41 4 72 12 157 15 80 9 350 40 3.68 3.62 390	POPULATION BT AGE GROUP 50.053 52,138 39,158 40.794 41,711 43.454 104.013 108.362 206.709 215.357	447.644 460.100 901,744
POPUL 117,		31 54 28 197 60 215 30 56 149 522 6.33 6.22 671 4 3 14 1 3 35 4 0.37 0.36 39 153 28 193 29 268 38 107 17 721 112 7.86 7.73 833	N	1.342 73 0.88 1.57 1.415 669 841 0.94 1.67 1.510 105 4 0.07 0.12 110
6 SQUARE 101	BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE	396 32 1.006 92 2.102 66 1.601 62 5.105 252 51.29 50.42 5.437 2 2 2 4 1 14 1 0.74 0.14 15 15 15 1625 145 6.454 931 69.67 68.49 7.385	S SQUARE BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE 563 83 552 81 911 54 610 119 1.262 163 2.541 97 7.603 187 6.672 135	2.636 337 1.85 3.30 2.973 18.078 582 11.62 20.69 18.660 90 6 0.06 0.11 96 22.971 1.843 15.42 27.46 24,764
POP.PER	\$Q. BL.	الكار فيناتنين فانتها بمنها سنده مسهد والمساوات والمساوات المساوات والأنا المساوات والمالة والمساوات	U POP.PER SQ.BL. 2.022 336 3.545 503 9.410 572 7.940 432	
ARRES	AREA TOTAL S PER 1000 POPULATION	382 29 627 121 1.315 330 2.687 335 1.825 145 6.836 960 73.55 72.31 7.796 64.71 4.65 126.58 23.16 234.48 55.80 164.89 19.49 92.57 6.97 130.27 17.36 72.31	H 405.7 JUVENILE DELINQUENT 326 267	326 267 0.37 0.66 593 23,247 2,110 15,79 28,12 25,357
			N ARRESTS PER 1000 POPULATION 6.51 5.12 51.64 8.24 85.09 11.57 30.46 5.28 38.41 7.01	23,247 2,110 15,79 28,12 25,357 52.64 4.59 28.12
	PULATION BY AGE GROUP PERSON	4,178 3,873 4,093 3,743 4,306 3,938 10,781 5,407 10,768 9,870 33,646 30,781 64,427 70 1 49 8 49 6 45 2 163 17 3.40 2.80 180	H POPULATION BY AGE GROUP 195,482 195,772 118,418 118,594 117,170 117,344 274,287 224,621 406,847 407,454 1 0 PERSON 329 26 631 39 1.278 95 948 71 196 79 289 295 321 282 229 108	3,135 231 0.44 1.58 3,361
POPUL	4TTON CHASTITT 350 FAMILY PROPERTY	10 17 17 68 11 54 10 23 48 162 3.96 3.26 210 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	30 2 60 4 124 5 72 2 S 1.004 375 634 255 77.4 218 639 124	786 13 0.04 0.14 299 3.051 972 0.53 1.89 4.023
84 SQUARE 5	ALOCKS PUBLIC PEACE UNCLASSIFIED	174 15 419 28 875 53 493 30 1.961 126 39.38 32.39 2.087 1 2 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3	L SQUARE BLOCKS PUBLIC PEACE 3,014 304 4.763 196 7.298 271 7.536 313 UNCLASSIFIED 16 21 2 31 4 49 3 3 4 589 786 6,398 791 9.776 875 9.473 621	27.611 1,084 3.11 11.14 23.695 117 9 0.02 0.06 126
POP.PER 1,35		T 50 79 50 79 50 79 50 79 50 79 2.43 2.00 129	B POP.PER SQ.BL. JUVENILE DELINQUENT 1, 386 752	1,386 752 0.28 1.01 2,138
	AREA FOTAL S PER 1000 POPULATION	50 79 251 41 561 116 1,001 117 594 60 2,457 413 54,15 44,54 2,870 11,96 20.90 61.32 10.96 130.28 29.45 97.36 12.44 55.06 5.08 73.03 13.42 44.54	AREA TOTAL 1,386 757 4,589 786 6.398 791 9.776 875 9.473 621 N ARRESTS PER 1000 POPULATION 7.09 3.84 38.76 6.63 54.60 6.74 43.59 3.90 23.78 1.52	31,622 3,825 4.66 16.67 35,447 29.77 3.60 16.67
NUMES.	TOO TOPOCKTION	11.50	المنتقة التنفيط المتراج المنتظ النبائي وإناني المنتال المنتال المنتال المنتال المنتال المنتال المنتال المنتال	10.07



Prostitution. Prostitution far outnumbers all other charges against female offenders. It was more prevalent among Manhattan than Brooklyn residents; more frequent in the Manhattan slum than the non-slum section. A higher rate prevailed elsewhere in the borough than in the Brooklyn substandard areas. Brooklyn led in totals for Wayward Minors who in Manhattan were about equally distributed between the slum and non-slum sections. As table No. 18 sets forth, other offenses charged against females in the Momen's Court constitute a small percentage of the total.

TABLE #18 FREQUENCY OF OFFENSES AMONG FEMALE OFFENDERS

OFFENSES	NUMBER	% OF GRAND TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF BORO TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF BORO TOTAL	
MANHATTAN	BORO	UGH	SL U	IM	NON-SLUM		
PROSTITUTION	1,910	61.2	1,084	52.	8 26	39.3	
OTHER OFFENSES	109	3.5	56	2.7	53	2.5	
_WAYWARD MINOR	72	2.3	37	1.8	35	1.7	
BROOKLYN	BORO	UGH	SLU	IM	NON-SLUM		
PROSTITUTION	475	15.3	76	11.8	399	61.5	
WAYWARD MINOR	137	4.4	15	2.3	122	18.8	
OTHER OFFENSES	36	1.2	4	.6	32	5.0	

Its frequency in Manhattan is by no means indicative that prostitution there is a highly organized business. As sociologists have emphasized, the decline of the brothel has been marked during recent years. Among the reasons advanced, those offered by Reckless are worthy of quotation. He states:

"One of the recent trends in prostitution has been the rise of an unregimented class of professional, semi-professional and amateur prostitutes, - women who have suclued a scheme of life and found an occupation outside

the brothel. They have taken to street walking, rooming houses, hotels, assignation places and call flats where prostitution is conducted on a more independent clandestine basis." (33)

There is little question but that disorganized social conditions there, together with economic pressures, largely explain the prevalence of prostitutes in Manhattan slum areas. A more detailed explanation of this situation would require, among other things, a study of divorce, desertion and similar social maladjustments in these areas. An examination of case history documents also would have to be undertaken.

Petty Offenses. To dismiss petty offenses from any consideration is a sign of defective vision. Convictions on such charges repeatedly appear in the previous court record of habitual offenders. Often they are the only charges against some individuals. An inquiry which seeks to differentiate between the slum and other areas on the basis of lesser or graver offenses must include the petty within its range. It is not claimed that petty offenses, because of their greater prevalence there, connote widespread delinquency in the deteriorated areas. Only are they included here as a further means of indicating offense volume in the slum.

Disorderly Conduct is the prevailing petty offense. In Manhattan Shooting Craps and Intoxication follow in sequence. On all three charges, Manhattan residents were convicted more often than Brooklyn offenders. The slum continues to maintain a higher rate for all convictions where these offenses were alleged, excepting Intoxication. Offenders in the Brooklyn substandard areas again area minority.

⁽³³⁾ Walter C. Reckless, Vice in Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1933, p. 137.

A disproportion between the boroughs is observable in convictions for Jostling which were more numerous in Manhattan. This offense usually involves an attempt to pick pockets, especially by professionals. The number of offenders convicted of Jostling who claimed residence in the Manhattan slums slightly exceeded that of non-slum residents. The following table contains the major petty offenses:

TABLE #19 PREDOMINANT CHARGES AGAINST PETTY OFFENDERS

OFFENSES	NUMBER	% OF GRAND TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF BORO TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF BORO TOTAL
MANHATTAN	BORG	DUGH	SLI	им	NO N-	SLUM
DIS. CONDUCT	12,776	31.8	6,806	33.5	5,970	29.3
SHOOTING CRAPS	3,010	7.5	1,756	8.6	1,254	6.1
INTOXICATION	2, 244	5.6	1,037	5. 1	1, 207	5.9
JOSTLING	87	. 2	47	. 2	40	. 2
BROOKLYN	BORG	UGH	SLI	JM	NO N-S	SLUM
DIS. CONDUCT	10,449	26.2	982	7.3	9,467	70.
INTOXICATION	1,979	4.9	219	1.6	1,760	13.
SHOOTING CRAPS	451	1.1	26	. 2	4 25	3. 1
JOSTLING	36	.09	4	.03	32	. 2

Misdemeanors. By virtue of its frequency Petit Larceny is the primary misdemeanor. More offenders were convicted of this charge in Manhattan than Brooklyn. Any preponderance of Manhattan slum residents is almost negligible, as the tabulation on the following page will illustrate.

Possessing Policy Slips, it will be noted, ranks second as a misdemeanor. A disproportionate number of convictions on this charge were of Manhattan residents. Principally they dwelt in a few deteriorated areas where this form of gambling is commonplace.

OFFENSE		% OF GRAND TOTAL	% OF GROUP TOTAL	NUM8ER	% OF 80R0 TOTAL	% OF GROUP TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF 80R0 TOTAL	\$ OF GROUP TOTAL
MANHATTAN	80	ROUGH			SLUM		NO	N-SLUI	4
PUBLIC PEACE	3, 193	28.		1,898	31. 3		1, 295	21.3	
POLICY NARCOTICS POSS. OF WEAPON	1, 384 571 426	12. 2 5. 3. 7	43.3 18. 13.4	963 306 292	16. 5. 4.8	51. 16. 2 15. 4	421 265 134	7. 4.4 2.2	32.5 20.5 .10.4
PROPERTY	2,373	21.		1, 239	20.4		1, 134	18.8	
PETIT LARCENY UNLAWFUL ENTRY	2,002 368	17.6 3.2	84. 15.6	1,012 227	16.7 3.7	81.6 18.4	990 141	16.4 2.3	87.5 12.4
PERSON	361	3. 2		242	4.		119	2.	
ASSAUL T	361	3. 2		242	4.		119	2.	
8ROOKLYN									
PUBLIC PEACE	1,633	14.4		20 1	5.4		1,432	39.	
POLICY POSS. OF WEAPON SLOT MACHINE	749 295 244	6.6 2.6 2.1	46. 18. 15.	114 29 23	3.1 .8 .6	56.5 14.4 11.4	635 266 221	17.2 7.2 6.	44.4 18.6 15.4
PROPERTY	1,516	13.4		104	2.8		1,412	38.	
PETIT LARCENY UNLAWFUL ENTRY REC. STOLEN GOODS	1, 331 181 3	11. 7 1. 6 . 1	88. 11.8 .2	88 16	2.4	84.6 15.4	1, 243 165 3	36.6 4.5 .1	89. 10.7
PERSON	432	3.8		54	1.5		378	10.2	
ASSAULT 3rd ADULTERY	431	3.8	99.7	54	1.5		377 1	10.2	99.7

The possession of Narcotics in Manhattan, Assaults in Brooklyn are third in frequency. The Possession of Dangerous Weapons is the fourth most recurrent misdemeanor among Manhattan offenders, - followed by Unlawful Entry. Assault convictions occupy sixth place on the Manhattan frequency scale. The Manhattan slums are chargeable with the larger portion of these convictions. Brooklyn shows no variation from the borough trend for all offenses; the non-slum section having the higher percentage.

Possessing Dangerous Weapons and Unlawful Entry are symptomatic of definite delinquency traits. Often these are amenable to no other but institutional treatment. Both offenses, because of their nature and the personal maladjustments they imply, must be accepted along with felonies

TABLE III DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTS - 1930

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER, TYPE OF OFFENSE, AGE GROUPS AND SEX

A			JUVE	NILE				A 0 U	LTAG	E GRO	UPS				ARR.	ARR.	
R	STATISTICS	TYPE OF OFFENSE	7 t	o 15	16 (20	21 1	0 25	26 1	to 35	Over	35	TO	TAL	PER	PER	TOTAL
^_	3121131163		MALE	FEMALE	HALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	HALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEHALE	SQ.BK.	1000	OFFENDERS
H A H	POPULATION	BY AGE GROUP PERSON CHASTITY	87.135	80,019	52,332 214 132	48, 295 17 175	51,974 427 202	47,914 47 542	99,741 660 250	93,445 51 554	190,527 611 225	176,703 52 290	481,709 1,912 809	446.376 167 1,561	1.32	2.24	928,085 2,079 2,370
	1,042,404 SQUARE BLOCKS 1,573	FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE UNCLASSIFIEO ADULT YOTAL			981 2,436 6 3,778	91 209 1 496	40 783 4,560 15 6,027	94 218	1,007 9,995 30	1 129 329 1 1.065	9,885 27 11,418	3 87 318 1 751	147 3.397 26.876 78 33,219	9 401 1,074	0.10 2.41 17.77 0.05	0.17 4.09 30.12 0.09	3.798 27.950 81
Ñ	POP.PER SQ.BLK. B62.7	JUVENILE OELINQUENT	1,398	248						1,000	11,410	731	1,398,	3,215	23.16	39.26	36,434 1,646
SLUM	ARRESTS PER 1	AREA TOTAL	1,398 16,04	248 3.10	3,778 72.19	496 10.27	6,027 115.96	903 18.85	11,996 120.27	1,065	11,418 59.93	751 4.25	34,617 71.86	3,463 7,76	24.21	41.03	38,080 41.03
H	POPULATION	BY AGE GROUP PERSON CHASTITY	245,535	247,910	157,576 461 257	139,388 34 160	158,881 883 446	160,798 56 600	328,300 1.752 600	332,983 129 573	613,556 1.382 401	622,806 85 272	1,503,848 4,478 1,704	1.523,885 304 1.605	0.52	1.58	3,027,733 4,782 3,309
	3,385,309 SQUARE BLOCKS 9,213	FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE UNCLASSIFIEO			33 1.567 4.276 17	458 467 1	92 1,186 7,304 36	7 336 293 2	171 1,685 14,901 77	272 458 9	96 1.249 14.208 77	2 243 448 3	392 5.687 40.689 207	17 1,309 1,666	0.04 0.76 4.60 0.02	0.14 2.31 13.99	6,996 42,355 222
N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N	POP.PER \$Q.BLK. 368.5	JUYENILE DELINQUENT	1,712	1.019	6,611	1,122	9,947	1,294	19,186	1,447	17,413	1,053	53,157	4,916 1,019	0.30	0.90	2,731
SLUM AREAS	ARRESTS PER I	AREA TOTAL	1.712	1,019	6,611	1,122	9,947 62,61	1.294 8.05	19,186 58.44	1,447	17,413 28.38	1.053	54.869 36.49	5.935 3.89	6.60	20_08	20.08
	NON RESIDENTS OF MANHATTAN	PERSON CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE UNCLASSIFIED ADULT TOTAL			70 28 14 361 875 1	30 114 121	204 52 22 381 1.489 1	5 77 4 101 76	314 71 31 531 2.764 12 3.723	30 119 1 134 151	209 62 38 503 3,506 8	10 87 2 120 179	797 213 95 1,776 8,634 22 11,537	47 313 7 469 527			844 526 102 2,245 9,161 22 12,900
9	BROOKLYN	JUVENILE DELINQUENT	323	56	1, 543	207	2,149	207	3.723	+ 73	4,510	296	323	1,363			379
		AREA TOTAL	323	56	1,349	267	2,149	263	3.723	435	4,316	398	11,860	1,419			13,279
	GNANO TOTAL	PERSON CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE UNCLASSIFIED ADULT TOTAL JUYENILE DELINQUENT ANEA TOTAL	3,433	1.323	745 417 56 2,909 7,587 24 11,738	53 365 5 663 797 2 1.885	1,514 700 154 2,350 13,353 52 18,123	108 1,219 13 531 587 2 2,460	2,726 921 256 3,223 27,660 119 34,905	210 1,246 8 535 938 10 2,947	2,202 688 168 2,378 27,599 112 33,147	147 649 7 450 945 4 2,202	7,187 2,726 634 10,860 76,199 307 97,913 3,433	3, 479 3, 479 32 2,179 3, 267 18 9, 494 1, 323 10, 817			7.705 6.205 667 13.039 79.466 325 107.407 4.756



as the most reliable indices for evaluating delinquency in an area.

The danger of sweeping statements about the slum and crime, is never greater than when robberies, burglaries and murders are discussed. Many cling to the belief that "hold ups," rackets and the like are attributable mainly to persons who reside either in the slum or are its products, who, having become affluent by criminal means, subsequently moved out of the slum.

Neither viewpoint has been subjected to a test in this study. To yield results, such a test would necessitate a perusal of each delinquent's life history. Many felons seldom remain in one locality for lengthy periods. Others originate outside the city, and after their advent here, often take lodgings in deteriorated areas. The felonies dealt with in the table below are distributed by the offenders' addresses at the time of their conviction.

TABLE #21 DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR FELONS

OFFENSE	NUMBER		% OF GROUP TO TAL	NUMBER	F OF 80RO TOTAL	% OF GROUP TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF 80R0 TOTAL	# OF GROUP TOTAL
MANHATTAN		BOROUGH			SLUM		NC	N-SLU	u
PROPERTY	754	41.1		402	38.4		352	33.6	
RO 88 ERY L ARCENY BURGL ARY	29 4 26 4 11 4	16. 14.3 6.2	39. 35. 15.	181 124 56	17.3 11.8 5.3	45. 30.8 13.9	113 140 58	10.8 13.4 5.5	32.1 39.8 15.5
PERSON	191	10.4	T	127	12.1		64	6.1	
ASSAULT MANSLAUGHTER MURDER	136 38 13	7. 4 1. 2 . 7	71.2 19.9 6.8	85 26 12	8.1 2.5 1.1	66.9 20.5 9.4	51 12 1	4.9 1.1	79.7 18.8 1.5
PUBLIC PEACE	70	3.8		51	4.9		19	1.8	
POSS. OF WEAPON POSS. BURG. TOOLS POSS. NARCOTICS	46 11 10	2.5 .5	65.7 15.7 14.3	33 8 9	3.1	64.7 15.6 17.6	13	1.2	68.5 15.8 5.3
8ROOKL YN									
PROPERTY	434	23.7		41	7.5		39 3	72.	
ROSSERY LARCENY BURGLARY	235 111 43	12.8 6.1 2.3	54.1 25.6 9.9	22 11 6	4. 2. 1.1	53.7 26.8 14.6	213 100 37	39. 18.3 6.8	54.2 25.4 9.4
PERSON	53	2.9		8	1.5		45	8.2	
ASSAULT MANSLAUGHTER MURDER	36 10 4	2. .6 .2	67.9 18.9 7.5	7	1. 3	87.5 12.5	29 9 4	5.3 1.6 .7	64.4 20. 8.9
PUBLIC PEACE POSS.OF WEAPON				4 4	.7				
FAMILY	24	1.3					21	3.8	
ABANDONMENT BIGAMY	14 10	.8	58.3 41.7				13 8	2. 4 1. 5	61.9 38.1

More than half the Manhattan felons who were convicted of robberies, assaults and murders came from substandard sections. Those residing elsewhere were convicted more frequently of larcenies and burglaries. The margin of difference, however, is small, numbering sixteen convictions for larceny and two for burglary.

A disparity is seen in the number of murder convictions. A ratio of twelve to one exists for offenders resident in substandard areas; manslaughter convictions presenting a ratio of two to one among such offenders. Contrasted with these figures no murder and only one manslaughter conviction involved an inhabitant of the Brooklyn substandard areas. All other Brooklyn offenders convicted on murder and manslaughter charges dwelt in the non-slum section.

The point to which these figures give fresh emphasis is the inadequacy of any statement about criminal careers which is grounded solely upon statistics. More felony convictions may be attributed to offenders from Manhattan deteriorated areas. The finding, however, is only a statistical one and fails to explain the aetiology of the delinquent, even as it fails to adumbrate the circumstances surrounding the crime. Case studies alone can furnish a real insight into the offender's career and criminal act. In this connection, however, the following conclusions of the New York State Crime Commission regarding the adult offender, bears weight:

"Within the limits of its inquiry the Sub Commission on Causes has found that the adult offender is ordinarily neither an accidental nor a wilful but an habitual offender whose non-conformity showed itself even in early childhood. These findings hold for the thief, the burglar,

JUVENILES ADJUDGED DELINQUENT

CHILDREN'S COURT MANHATTAN & BROOKLYN~1930 DISTRIBUTION BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER

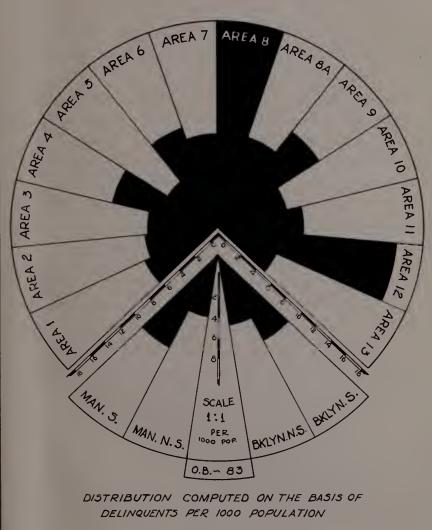


CHART. No. 4

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the gangster. * (34)

Conspicuous as the adult offender is in the commission of serious crimes, the adolescent of recent years has come into the foreground in the crime picture. The number, both of adolescent and youthful adult felons, will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter. Mention is here made of them only in order to draw attention to the fact that they are responsible for a disproportionate number of the felonies above discussed.

Summed up briefly, residents of the Manhattan substandard areas are credited with more than their share of all offenses ranging from Juvenile Delinquencies to Felonies. Offenders convicted of all charges who dwelt in the Brooklyn substandard areas constituted a minority of that borough's total. This, however, does not imply that crime and juvenile delinquency in the Brooklyn slums are negligible quantities.

^{(34) &}quot;Crime and the Community." A report of the New York State Crime Commission, Albany, 1930, p. 54.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DISPOSITION OF OFFENDERS

A statistical inquiry into the disposition of offenders is not without practical purpose. Apart from its
import in determining the treatment applied to them, it
helps to distinguish between offenders. The most serious
generally are committed to penal or correctional institutions. Offenders such as the casual or the youthful apprentice in delinquency, whose reconstruction possibilities
are more apparent, are apt to be placed on probation. Others, whose offenses are minor in nature are fined. Whatever the dispositions are they supply a differential index
to offenders whom the statistical method must necessarily
handle en masse.

crime Costs in the Sium. An added value attaches to a numerical calculus of dispositions. By correlating the statistics to maintenance costs, some idea can be gained of the expense imprisoned offenders occasion the tax payer. The retention of one delinquent in a state institution is estimated at \$450 annually. (35) Multiplying this figure by the number of state prison inmates from deteriorated areas gives but an inkling of the expenditure crime in the slum entails. The cost of extra policing there, the property losses, the outlay for insurance and the augmented expense of administering criminal justice, are other items in the crime bill.

It is believed by many, apparently with good reason, that crime in deteriorated areas occasions a greater financial drain upon the community than is counter-balanced by tax accruals from such sections. From a dollars and

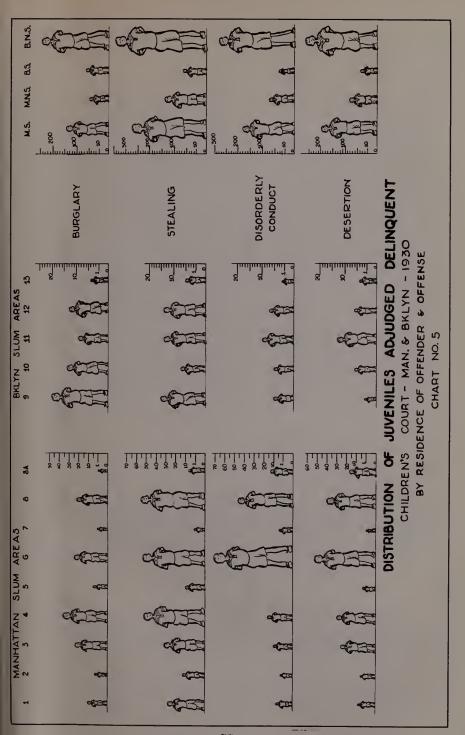
⁽³⁵⁾ This figure is taken from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Correction, State of New York, 1931.

cents standpoint, it would seem that a decreased delinquency in the slum, should mean a financial gain for the city as a whole. Crime costs, however, can never be ascertained accurately. Any estimate of the saving to be derived from crime reduction accordingly would be difficult. None can deny that it would help even in a small measure, to defray the expense of better housing in the slums.

The disposition of offenders, as here summarized statistically, is not correlated with crime costs. To do so would involve a problem in accountancy. Even were cost figures available, they could not be charged entirely to deteriorated areas. Some would have to be apportioned to the entire community. By tolerating the slum, the community at large shares in the responsibility for the delinquency it fosters. How serious is the outcome in some cases, the number of offenders committed to institutions will indicate.

Juvenile Delinquents. Manhattan juveniles who were committed to institutions numbered 192. Of these 130 came from deteriorated areas. On the contrary, only 19 juveniles from the Brooklyn areas were subjected to institutional treatment. The number of committed delinquents from the Manhattan slums is significant. It suggests that their delinquency traits were so pronounced as to require that correctional therapy which only an institution can

TABLE #22 DISPOSITION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS SUSPENDED INSTITUTIONS PROBATION FINES TOTAL SENTENCE MANHATTAN 1,107 SLUM 130 724 146 107 NON-SLUM 62 294 45 470 69 TOTAL 192 ,018 215 152 1,577 BROOKLYN 19 27 226 SL UM 158 22 NON-SLUM 161 980 419 297 1,857 2.083 TOTAL 180 1,138 446 319



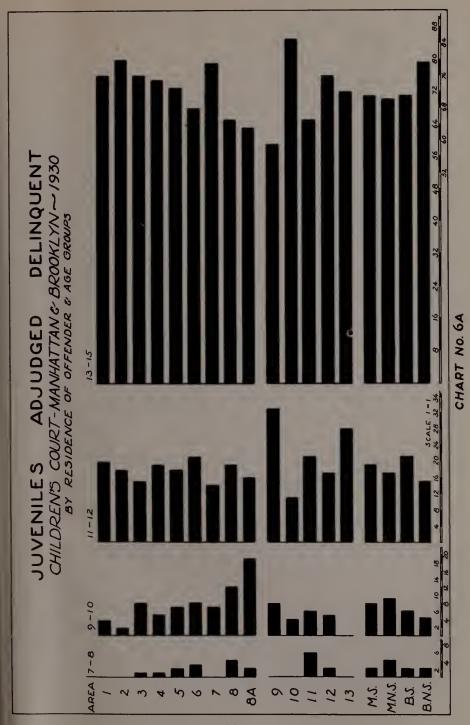
furnish. Such commitments likewise represent an unpromising beginning; one that experience proves is too frequently a prelude to criminal careers.

Additional significance attaches to the above statistics, particularly as they apply to juveniles from the slums. Many, because of family circumstances are returned to the same environment whence they emerged after the term of their commitment has expired. Whatever benefits may have accrued from institutional therapy sometimes are nullified, despite energetic follow-up efforts by parole officers and welfare workers. When failures ensue, however, blame is heaped upon these workers and the institution wherein the delinquents had been confined previously. Recognition has been given to these facts in the following statement of the New York Commission on Housing and Regional Planning.

"In probation cases, in which neighborhood environment is a factor to be reckoned with, although there may be improvement shown or perhaps an apparent cure for a time, despite inability to change such environment, there remains the constant danger of a relapse by the child to old habits and former temptations just as long as he or she is obliged to live in the same neighborhood. Thus, under existing housing conditions the probationary period is frequently prolonged in such cases beyond what it need be normally, ending very often in failure and consequent commitment of a girl or boy to an institution." (36)

The large number of juveniles placed on probation both in Manhattan and Brooklyn, as shown in Table 22 is noteworthy. As a socio-psychological process for rehabil-

⁽³⁶⁾ Report of New York Commission on Housing and Regional Planning, Albany, 1923, p. 81.



itating the individual delinquent, probation requires no explanation. The best proof of its value, both on grounds of economy and tested merit, is its universal employment. The efficacy of probation, however, is in danger of jeopardy when, in addition to the personality problems of the individual, it is compelled to combat the deleterious influence of slum surroundings. What applies to probation is equally true of parole efforts. Since it is impossible to transfer every delinquent into new surroundings, it would be unreasonable to expect a complete rehabilitation in every case. Especially so when the offender continues to live amid conditions of congestion, bad housing and lack of suitable recreational facilities.

Female Offenders. Female Offenders committed to institutions numbered 1454 among Manhattan, and 301 among Brooklyn residents. Of the Manhattan total, 860 lived in slum sections. Only 53 from like sections in Brooklyn went to institutions. Those from Manhattan areas of deterioration who were placed on probation totaled 278, or about one-third the number imprisoned. Either the latter apparently were composed of recidivists or showed poor prospects of rehabilitation under probationary supervision. Whatever the situation, the large percentage from slum areas who were deemed unsuitable for other than institutional treatment is significant. The disposition of female offenders is indicated in the following table.

TABLE #23 DISPOSITION FEMALE OFFENDERS

	INSTITUTIONS	PROBATION	SUSPENDED SENTENCE	FINES	OTHER DISPOSITIONS	TOTAL
MANHATTAN						
SLUM NON-SLUM	860 594	278 259	10 10	29 49	2	1,177 914
TOTAL	1,454	537	20	78	2	2,091
BROOKL YN						
SLUM NON-SLUM	53 248	26 168	14 107	2 29	1	95 553
TOTAL	301	194	121	31	1	648

DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILES

ADJUDGED DELINQUENT - 1930

CHILDREN'S COURT - MAN. & BROOKLYN

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER & SEX

MALE	AREA	FEMALE
	1	
	2	
7	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	
	8	
	8A	
	9	
	10	
	11	
	12	
	13	
-	M.S.	
	M.N.S.	
	B.S.	
	B.N.S.	
2 4 6 8 10 12 SCALE: = 1	14 16 18 20 22 24 20	6 28 7 5 3 (SCALE: 1:1
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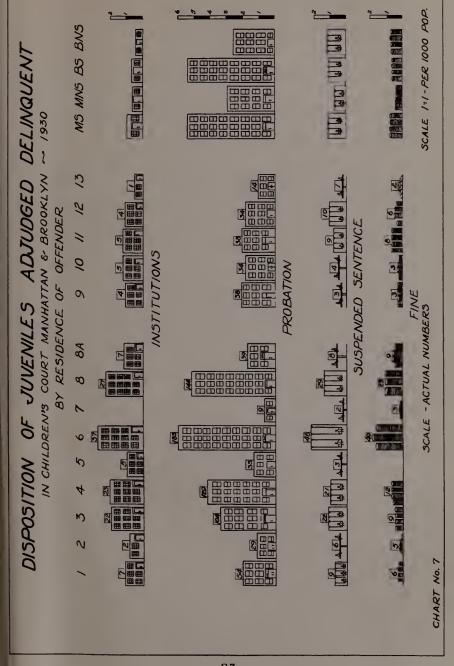
Petty Offenders. The petty offenders sentenced, principally to the City Prison or the Workhouse, included 5750 Manhattan residents. Again those living in the slum constitute a large percentage, numbering 3020 all told. Commitments for petty offenses are usually of short duration. By virtue of this, they often are more punitive than eurative. Especially striking is the small number, - 121 to be exact, of slum area offenders placed on probation.

TABLE #24		DISPOSITION	PETTY OFF	ENDERS		
	INSTITUTIONS	PROBATION	SUSPENDED SENTENCE	FINES	OTHER DISPOSITIONS	TOTAL
MANHATTAN						
SLUM	3,020	121	5,582	2,039	8	10,770
NON-SLUM	2,730	91	5, 184	1.595	18	9.618
TOTAL	5,750	212	10,766	3,634	26	20,338
BROOKLYN						
SLUM	221	35	721	303	6	1,286
NON-SLUM	1,935	320	6,594	3,331	44	12,224
TOTAL	2,156	355	7,315	3,634	50	13,510

The fact should not be overlooked that the majority of petty offenders, alike from Manhattan and Brooklyn, received suspended sentences. Coupled with the number fined, this disposition seemingly indicates that most petty offenders presented no serious behavior problems. In view of this their value as an index of delinquency in the slum is slight. Particularly is this true in Brooklyn, where there is a lesser number in deteriorated areas.

Misdemeanants. Slightly more than half of the total misdemeanants resident in Manhattan were sentenced to imprisonment. A total of 2057 slum residents were imprisoned as compared with 1403 otherwise disposed of by probation, fines and suspended sentences.

	_					
TABLE #25	D	ISPOSITION	OF MISDEME	ANANTS		
	INSTITUTIONS	PROBATION	SUSPENDED SENTENCE	FINES	OTHER DISPOSITIONS	TOTAL
MANHATTAN						
SLUM	2,057	254	814	317	18	3,460
NON-SLUM	1,269	256	672	384	12	2,593
TOTAL	3,326	510	1,486	701	30	6,053
BROOKLYN						
SLUM	126	55	166	29	2	378
NON-SLUM	1,078	670	1,189	384	7	3,328
TOTAL	1,204	725	1,355	413	9	3,706



As the figures indicate, there are no variables in the Brooklyn trend, which consistently shows a higher percentage of commitments among non-slum residents.

Felons. Prison commitments obviously constitute the greater percentage of all dispositions in the felony group. As much is this explainable by the serious nature of the offenses, as by the mandatory character of many sentences. It is to this group that the Baumes Laws, which leave no discretion to the sentencing judge, apply.

From the standpoint of crime costs, the imprisonment of felons represents an expensive process. Measured, however, in terms of protection to society, especially from vicious and habitual offenders, such imprisonment is not costly. Their depredations usually involve a far greater monetary loss than the expense of their maintenance behind prison bars. In cases of this kind the only saving is that which accrues from crime prevention. It is a trite and therefore forgotten fact that a dollar spent in crime prevention is equivalent in value to hundreds expended for punishment. How much effective prevention programs could have saved the community is apparent from a consideration of felon dispositions, the costliest of all.

TABLE #26 DISPOSITION OF FELONS

	INSTITUTIONS	PROBATION	SUSPENDED SENTENCE	FINES	OTHER DISPOSITIONS	TOTAL
MANHATTAN						
SLUM NON-SLUM	542 376	45 68	1 2		8	596 452
TOTAL	918	113	3		14	1,048
8ROOKLYN						
SLUM NON-SLUM	51 408	3 64	2 15		1 2	57 489
TOTAL	459	67	17		3	546

During 1930, offenders living in Manhattan who were sentenced to State prison totaled 499. Of this number 284 dwelt in the substandard areas of that borough. Here indeed is a

reflex both of crime severity and crime costs in the slum. Even for one year's imprisonment, the 499 represent a total outlay of \$224,550 on the basis of the annual maintenance cost previously cited. In turn, \$127,800 of this sum could be charged against the Manhattan slum, assuming that the 284 felons who lived there, were indigenous products.

The number from Manhattan slum areas who were placed on probation was small, - 45 all told. Against this figure, are the sixty-eight who lived in the non-slum section. Both totals combined reflect a comparatively small outlay for probationary supervision. The economy of such treatment is evident. Likewise the selectivity necessary in placing offenders, especially felons, on probation. How well the selective process, as operative through the medium of pre-sentence investigation, is applied, the totals given will indicate. Critics of probation who view them will find no cause for alarm but plenty for commendation.

There were 187 residents of Brooklyn committed to prison on felony charges. Of this total 23 dwelt in substandard areas. Only 3 residents of these areas were placed on probation, as compared with 64 who lived elsewhere in the borough. The number, both of Manhattan and Brooklyn offenders who received suspended sentences without probation were few; 3 in Manhattan and 17 in Brooklyn. Those otherwise disposed of, similarly were few in number, as will be seen in the disposition schedule.

The disposition of offenders as thus presented brings to the front two important facts. First, that slum area offenders are committed more frequently to institutions than those from elsewhere in Manhattan. The second, which is corollary to the foregoing, is the fact that, measured by institutional commitments, the deteriorated areas contribute more than their share to the crime costs of the community.

CHAPTER SIX

COMPOSITION OF OFFENDER POPULATION

Central place in any criminal census no longer belongs to the middle aged offender. It has been usurped by
youth, along with the monopoly in robberies and burglaries.
The average delinquent today has yet to reach his thirtieth
year. Whether he comes from the slums or the suburbs, he
is usually a native born white, still in the twenties.
Glaringly does this fact become evident, every time a file
of offenders marches into a court room. More than any
other aspect, it constitutes the real crux of the contemporary crime problem.

The age shift in criminality is neither sudden nor yet is it a signal for pessimism. The youthful may indeed be the most serious offender. He likewise is the most curable, provided that he is treated immediately and intelligently. When his social implementation is in the slum, the cure must depend also for its permanency upon new surroundings. The delay in supplying these, if for no other reason than as social insurance against tomorrow's crime and juvenile delinquency, makes society and not youth the real culprit

Offender Age Levels

Statistics which mirror the age composition of delinquents seldom have been assembled on a large and never on a national scale. Repeatedly expression has been given to the fact that the criminal crop today consists mostly of youthful offenders. Although not short of the mark, such statements often lack statistical details. The report of the Wickersham Commission, in drawing attention to the dearth of such data, is particularly explicit on this point. The report states: TABLE TY

DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILES ADJUDGED DELINQUENT

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s	POPULATION 26.070 HALE 16.001 EMALE 15.766 80. BLOCY3	4353ULT #035E4 #05E4 #05	1	0	5 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	5 3 4 1 2 3 4 4 0 2 2 6		1 14 1 23 3 16 18 10 10 97	6 1 8 6	2 25 8 27 10 4 24 21 1 15	6 1 10 6	1.3	5 .44 3 .07 5 .71 1 .04 6 3 .01	.00	.01	00	13	8 6	1 2	?	21 1 15 20 2	6 1 0 6 1	8 0	
,	POPULATION 21,170 NALE 10,000 FEHALE 10,191 50. BLOCA	BUBGLERY USELANCE CONDUCT SECALING OLSOMOEBUT CONDUCT PLODUTING 3 SERGING UNDOY. CHIEG 4 MATHYSS OCSERTION OF NOME TAUGRET	1 1	0	1 1 4 2 2	0 3	1 1	2 1 29 2 36 7 7 7 2 8 10	5 17 4	2 38 38 2 66 15 2 19 14 3	11	1 1	18 16 16 21 .7: 21 .7: 21 .7: 18 19 70 .0 1.6 27 .1	0 .02	6 5 8 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1	65 16 80 37 08 32 298	3 5	6 2 5 7 1	3	2 2 8 ::	3	6 # 16 1 2 31	3 2 1 1 2 13 6	
	POPULATION 9,887 HALE 9,745 FEMALE 4,831 SQ. 01.00	BUEGLARY UNLAWFUL ENTET STEALING DISCROCILLY COROUCT PERCLINE A REGULAN UNGOY, CHILD & WATMAL DESCRIBE OF NOME TRUMECT		1 0	1	1 3	2 1		2 3 6 4		2	1 2.	26 10 .2 69 .2 43 .4	0 .0	17 17 15 .6 15 .6 29 .6	014	1 6 6 10 7 7 7	1 1 2 2 6	1	0	1 5 6 10 6 2	1 2 2 6	2	
	PCPULATI 15,003 MALE 18,256 5 FEMALE 16,803 5Q. BLDI	UNIONE LITERY STEALISE DISORDERLY CONDUCT PEDCISHE & BEGGING UNGOY, CHILD & WAYVA DESERTION OF HOME TRUDERCY	40	2 3 2 1 5 4	3	2	19 6 4 1	4 6 4	2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		1 16	20 1 5 3 28 1 32 1	.66 .97 .67 .31 .10 .38 .05 .88	06 .1 .0 10 .1 30 .3 68 .1 90 .1	32 63 85 153 29 04 142	005 005 105 027 147 168	23 10 28 61 22 15 7	1 1 13 4 22 29 8	2 1 2 7 7 6 2 5	7 1 6 3	2 1 22 12 32 64 21 17 6 1 15	1 16 5 26 30 6	3 3 3 3 1 1	2 2 3 3 12
	POPULAT 1.019 MALE 072 FEMAL 072 SQ. BLO	BUSSLAST UNLANTUL ENSET STEALING 013030ERLS CONDUCT PEDDELING 3 SECOLING UNGOT, CHILG 6 MATH OESERTION OF BOME 1SUSSCET	E	0 0	1	0	1 2	0		1	2 2 5 1 1 1 2 2 1 3 1	1	2.06	. 15	181 455 091 091	.091	2 2 5 1 2 12	1	1	0	2 2 5 1 1 1 2 1 3	0	0	1
	PCPULA 12.1 HAL 5.99 FEMA 6.21 \$Q. BA	BUNGLARY UPLAWFUL ENTRY STEALING DISORDERLY COMOUCY PEODLING S 400016 LE UNGOY, CHILD & WAY BUSERTION OF NOME ENUMBER	1	321			2 1 5 9 2 9	5 3 3 4 15	4	6 11 17 2	1 1 23 4 46 47 18 21 7	7	17 3,89 .67 7,79 1 7,95 3,05 3,56 3,34	.57	01 01 02 64 43 43 16 19 020	.10	4 2 6 11 3 3 2	3 7 4	1 19 2 40 36 15 18	1 8 14 16 7 46	1 21 4 44 45 17 16 2 5	7 14 10 7	1 2 2 2 3 1 5	2 2 2
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	7 137 8 H 1 H 1 71 3 00	ASSAULT 5.313	6 TW45D	2 2 3 3 3 4 3 2 2 19	3	1 2 9 9 29 18 6 8 2 83 12	26 11 35 39 3 27 17 2 1 13	\rightarrow	7 4 100 19 165 99 11 64 69 9 5 2 78	39 6 48 B3 1 20 200	8 7 137 32 212 170 14 109 9 7 10 0 2 50 85#	3 1 31 6 68 93 2 27 253	.11 .10 1.92 .45 2.95 2.38 .70 1.53 1.36 .14 .08 .03 .70	.05 .01 .77 .12 1.03 1.41 .03 .41	.007 .006 .127 .030 .197 .158 .013 .101 .089 .005 .005 .002 .045	.003 .001 .047 .007 .063 .086 .002 .025	5 4 203 28 253 2155 14 84 60 60 10 6	16	3 3 34 4 59 55 25 20 28	17 17 1 27 25	8 5 125 32 198 159 14 100 89 9 6 2 47		2 12 14 11 9 8 1	2 12 8 10 10 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
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(1	PCPULATION 3,805 MALE 2,279 FEMALE 1,831 SQ. BLOCES 120	ASSAULT ROBERT BURGLARY UNLAWFUL ENTRY STEALING DISCOURT COMDUCT PETOLING & REQUISO URBOY. CHILL I WATMARD OF ROME TRUAKETY CORP. CRETTON OF ROME TRUAKETY CORP. ORDINANCE URCLASSIFICATION OF CORP.					1 1	1	5 2 1 1	1	1 2 3	2	1. 25 2. 19 .87 .44 .87 .48	.123	.008	.017	4 5 2 1 2 1	2	0	0	4 5 7 7 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	2
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	# 0 # #E310E#75 OF H4###17A# 4 # 0 ##000SLT4	ASSOULT BORERY BURELTY UNLANTUL ENTRY STERLING DISOBOTERY COMDUCT PETODLING BRESSTER UNDOT COLD BRESSTER UNDOT COLD BRESSTER TO. BALLBOOD LAY TIOL CORP. ORD BRESSE					2 5		1 11 17 2 1	5 7	10	14 1 5 7					132 21 21 2 1 9	14 1 5 5	1 1	1 3	12 22 22 2 1	33 1 5 7
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"Nost of those who write and speak on American criminal justice assume certain things to be well known or incontrovertible. But as one looks for the facts underlying such assumptions he soon finds they are not at hand. Even when tables and masses of figures are given, one soon finds that for the most part the material is local, not comparable with that from other localities, uncritical, and derived from irresponsible private inquiry." (37)

The present compilation, it is believed, reflects the average trends of offender population of the city. It is by no means exhaustive, embracing only persons arrested and convicted during one year and residing but in two of the five boroughs. As the majority of offenders live in Manhattan and Brooklyn, it is safe to assume therefore, that their age levels are characteristic of the general run of the city's delinquents. There is little likelihood that such levels today differ much from those of 1930. The annual reports of the Probation Department of the Court of General Sessions, bear witness to the fact that the typical ages of delinquents vary little from year to year. Juvenile Delinquents. When a juvenile makes an initial appearance in the Children's Court, it does not necessarily mean that his delinquency has just begun. Often the Children's Court is the last and not the first resort in the handling of misbehavior problems. The ages here set forth, accordingly must be interpreted as those of juveniles at the time they were adjudged delinquent.

The maximum for juvenile offenders is reached between the thirteenth and sixteenth years. Out of 3,660 adjudged delinquent in Manhattan and Brooklyn, 2,738 or 75 per

⁽³⁷⁾ National Commissions on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on Criminal Statistics, No. 3, Washington, D.C. 1931, p. 3.

		GRAND	377	2,209	674	483	3,743	
	NON RES	OF MAH AND BEN	S	53	13	12	83	
	LUH	TDTAL	223	1,274	488	342	1,333 470 1,857 2,327	
	HOH - SLUM	BKH	161	980	419	762	1,857	
		MAN	62	294	69	45	470	
⊢ z	HAK	BKN TOTAL	149	862	173	129	1,333	
TABLE <u>T</u> ON OF JUVENILES ADJUDGED DELINQUENT IN CHILDREN'S COURTS MAINATIAN AND BROOKLYN - 1930 BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER		TOTAL	13	158	12	22	226	
DEL	SLUM	13	1	14	1	2	18	
193	BRDOKLYM SLUM	12	*	34	10	g	54	
GE [8 8 0 0	=	5	38	6	60	9	
JUD PROOF		02	5	34	4	6	46	
A D A P FFEND		0	1	38	~	6	48	
TABLE XINILES ALS MANHATIAN AN		TOTAL	130	724	146	101	1,107	
T A EN 2		9 V	7	39	8	6	63	
JUV SV RE		•	27	144	29	23	223 63	
REN'S		7		6	2	m	14	
O -	HAI	•	37	183	46	40	306 14	
0 N=	MANKATTAN SLUM	9	S	33	3		41	
DISPOSITION OF	HAHKA	*	23	129	21	12	185	
ISP		e	22	104	22	6	157	
٥		2	2	29	g	2	42	
		-	7	54	6	ø	76	
		DISPOSETEON	18311UT1088	#01440#4	SUSPENDED SENTENCE	FIRE	TOTAL	

cent came within these age brackets. They embrace the period of puberty and also represent the upper limits of Children's Court jurisdiction.

In this connection, a number of questions arise. There is the possibility, as Healy suggests, that many delinquents are being brought into the juvenile court too late for any effective treatment of their behavior disorders. (38) There is also a strong probability that this situation partly explains the sharp increment in the sixteen to twenty age group of offenders during recent years. The prevalence of these delinquents has been studied with characteristic competence by the New York State Crime Commission. Its findings are contained in the report of the Commission for 1931, to which the interested reader is referred.

The Adolescent Offender. No delinquent so directly challenges our social conscience as the adolescent. The challenge issues not alone from his youthfulness but also from his saturation in criminality. The spectacle of youths who still have to attain their majority being arraigned for armed robberies is no longer uncommon. It has even ceased to startle us, when they are convicted of murder. The tragedy of crime today is in fact but the tragedy of the adolescent and the young adult offender.

The courts cannot be expected to cope single handedly with so grave a situation. After and not before the damage is done, does the adolescent reach the court. Often it is too late for any therapy other than imprisonment. When blame is apportioned, however, society evades its share. The more so when it continues to ignore the slums where so many adolescents live, play and are initiated in criminal

⁽³⁸⁾ cf. William Healy and Augusta Bronner. Delinquents and Criminals. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926. p. 26.

pursuits. Blame likewise attaches in a measure to society for failing to provide industrial opportunities for the adolescent. Unable to secure employment, he soon begins to idle his time away on the street corners and in pool-rooms. Delinquency is but one step removed. How often the step is taken, the number of adolescents appearing before courts too well illustrates.

TABLE #27 ARREST FREQUENCY IN 16-20 AGE GROUP

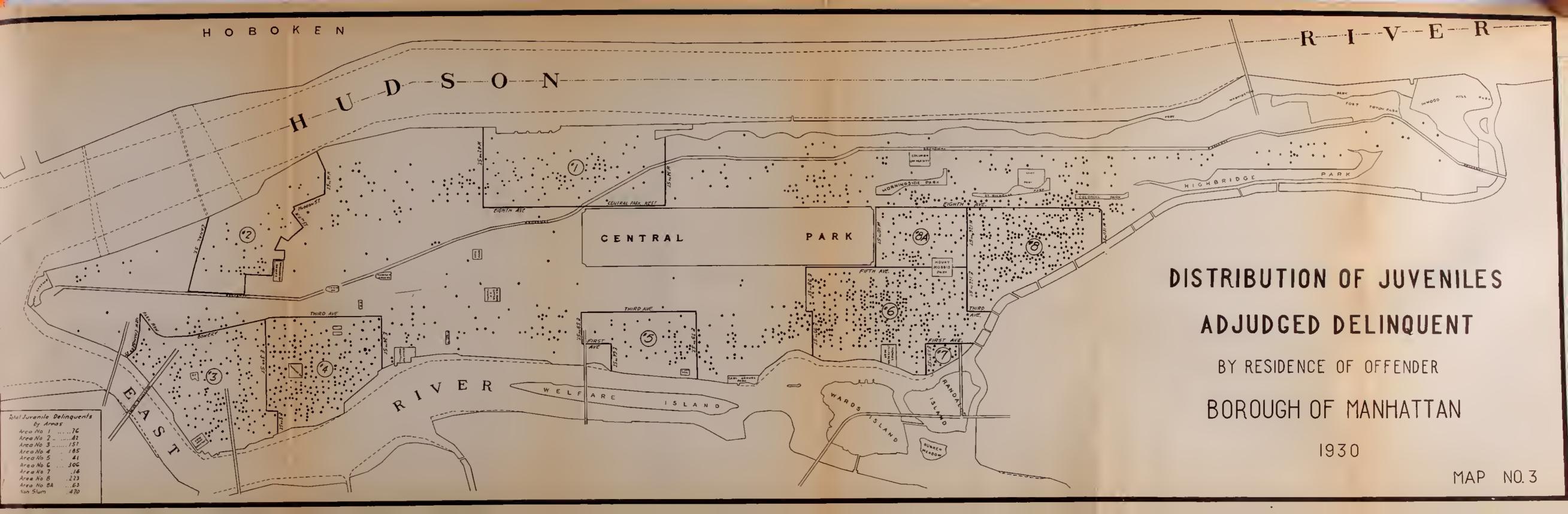
BOROUGH	SLI		LUM NO		SLUM	TOTAL	
		NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M
MANHATTAN	M F	3, 311	74.52 10.69	2,022 336	51.64 8.24	5,333	63.90 9.48
BROOKLYN	M F	467 55	59. 7.79	4,589 786	38.76 6.63	5,056 841	40.13

It thus appears that during 1930, 6,110 male and female adolescents living in Manhattan were arrested. In other words, 64 out of every thousand males between 16 and 20 years of age allegedly violated the law. The Brooklyn rate is lower. There, forty in every thousand adolescent males were arrested. A marked increase is observable in the rate for the slum areas of both boroughs. In Manhattan it is 74 per thousand; in Brooklyn, 59 per thousand.

Felony convictions confirm the extent of criminality among adolescents. Those involving Manhattan residents totaled 1,048. Of this number, 246 or 13.4 per cent. were chargeable to adolescents of both sexes. The majority of these, 158 to be exact, came from substandard areas. In the face of these figures, coldly impartial as they are, it cannot be gainsaid that the slum is the social milieu of many such offenders.

TABLE #28 FELONY FREQUENCY IN 16-20 AGE GROUP

BOROUGH		SLUM		NON-SLUM		TOTAL	
		NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M
MANHATTAN	M F	155 3	3. 49 .07	B 2 6	2.09 .15	237 9	2.84
BROOKLYN	M F	.20	2.52	163 1	1. 37 .01	183	1. 45 .01





The statistical picture of Brooklyn adolescents is equally disturbing. The 16 to 20 contains more felony convictions than any other age group. For both sexes, such convictions numbered 184 out of 546, credited to Brooklyn residents. The nearest approach to this figure is in the 21 to 25 age group which shows 40 less felons as shown in table No. 31. As the age levels rise, felony convictions decrease, notably among Brooklyn offenders. The youngest seemingly is the worst offender in that borough.

The form crime assumes among adolescents is shown by the character of their felonies. Robbery, followed by larceny and assaultled among Manhattan adolescents. There is no deviation from this sequence when slum and non-slum sections are compared. With one exception, the same order prevails in Brooklyn. Assault ranking second, among adolescents from the slum areas.

TABLE #29	FREQUENCY OF MISDEMEANANTS IN 16-20 AGE GROUP								
BOROUGH	SL U		JM	M NON-SL		TOTAL			
		NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M		
MANHATTAN	M F	529 96	11.92 2.32	345 92	8.80 2.26	874 188	10.45 2.30		
BROOKLYN	M F	72 9	9.10 1.27	683 95	5.76 .80	755 104	5.97		
	F	REQUENCY	OF PETTY	OFFENDER	S IN 16-	20 AGE GR	OUP		
MANHATTAN	M F	1, 347 34	30.30 .83	842 36	21.51 .88	2, 189 70	26.10 .85		
BROOKLYN	M F	165 10	20.82	1,934 70	16.32 .59	2,099 80	16.66		

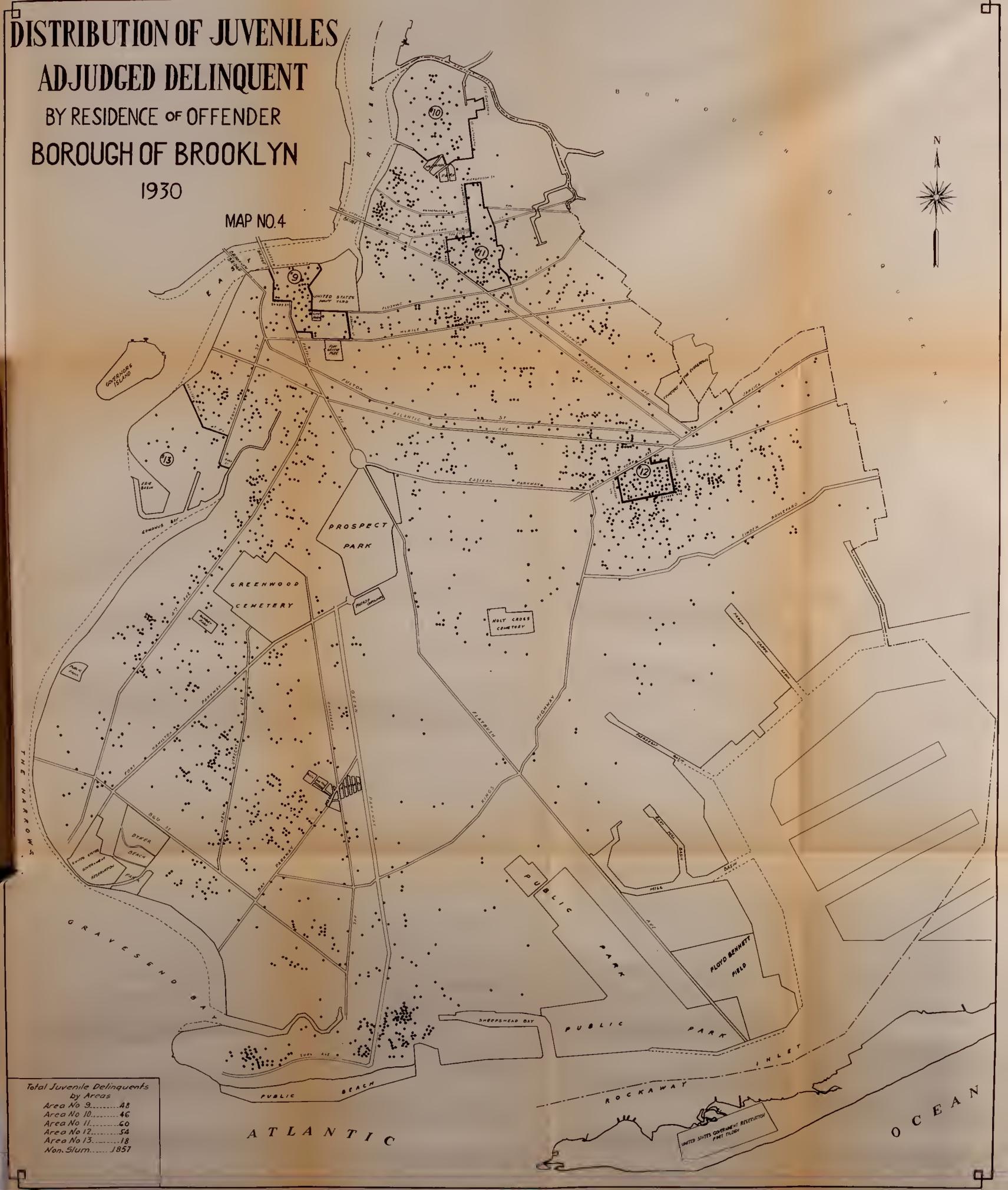
Figures like the above, establish the fact that adolescents also account for an undue proportion of the misdemeanor and petty offenses. Manifestly, then, it is around the adolescent that crime treatment and prevention programs should revolve. Three years ago, the New York State Crime Commission stressed this necessity. In particular, the Commission drew attention to the disregard of the peculiar problems associated with adolescent criminality. Thus it is stated in the Commission's report for 1931 that:

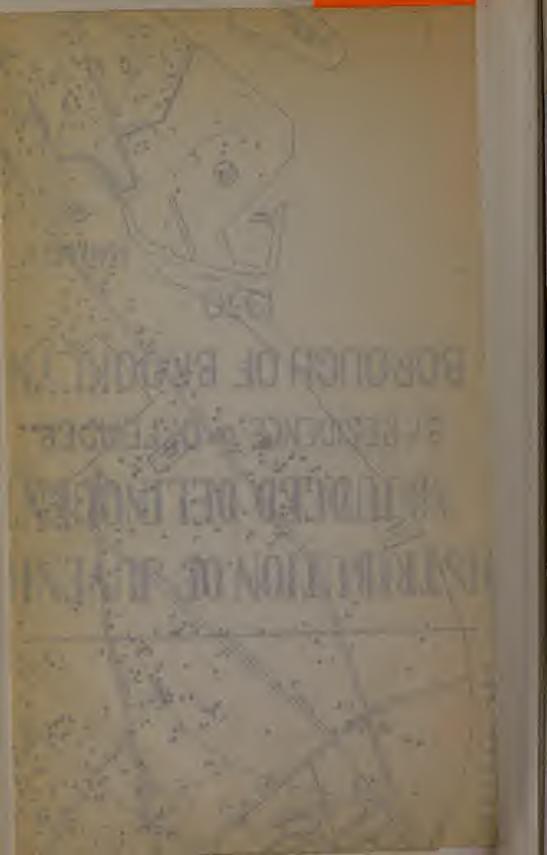
"The marked absence of non legal programs and facilities for the rehabilitation of adolescent offenders would lead to the belief that society regards the adolescent offender as requiring only legal treatment. We do not accept this point of view. We do not feel that procedures of law act as a real crime deterrent to this age group and while we are hopeful of a humanization of the legal treatment of the youthful offender, we tend to put our faith in the efficacy of noncoercive processes of individual and group guidance." (39)

The high rate of felony convictions among adolescents living in slum areas suggests the undeniable need for more wholesome surroundings. Time and again it has been preached. No one with even the slightest knowledge of the crime situation, would doubt that if anything, the fact has been underemphasized.

The Young Adult. As a criminal, the young adult is more conspicuous than the adolescent. With the latter he divides responsibility for approximately fifty per cent. of the more serious offenses. Frequently he is found in ranks of gangsters and racketeers with whom spectacular crimes are a forte. Whatever new direction criminal activities have taken during recent years, the young adult usually is the one who has shaped it.

⁽³⁹⁾ Report of the New York State Crime Commission, Albany, 1931, p. 83.





Ţ	A	В	L	Ε	#	30

BOROUGH	ROUGH S		LUM	NON-	-SLUM	TOTAL	
		NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M
MANHATTAN	M	5,424	122.15	3, 549	B5.0B	B.973	104.19
	F	817	19.75	503	11.57	1,320	15.56
BROOKLYN	M	60 3	B0.73	6,39B	54.60	7,001	56.12
	F	86	12.91	791	6.74	B77	7.09

Whether he dwells in Brooklyn or Manhattan, the youthful adult, that is the individual between 21 and 25 years of age, occupies third place on the arrest scale. Thus, during 1930, one hundred and four out of every thousand males in this age group who lived in Manhattan were arrested. Among Brooklyn residents, the rate was forty-eight per cent. lower. Consistent with the trend for the adolescent age group, the rate was highest in the slum areas of both boroughs.

TABLE #31

FELONY FREQUENCY IN 21-25 AGE GROUP

BOROUGH	SLUM			NON-	SLUM	TOTAL		
		NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	
MANHATTAN	M F	140 4	3.15 .10	125 3	2,99	265 7	3.08 .0B	
BROOKLYN	M F	17	2.28	124 3	1.06 .03	141 3	1.13	

Outstanding in the above tables is the percentage of felony convictions chargeable to young adults. There were 272 such convictions involving Manhattan residents, of whom 144 belonged in slum areas. The figures for Brooklyn are striking. The second largest number of felong convictions is in this age group. Although the young adult is less frequently convicted of misdemeanors and petty offenses than are older age groups, he is responsible for an undue proportion.

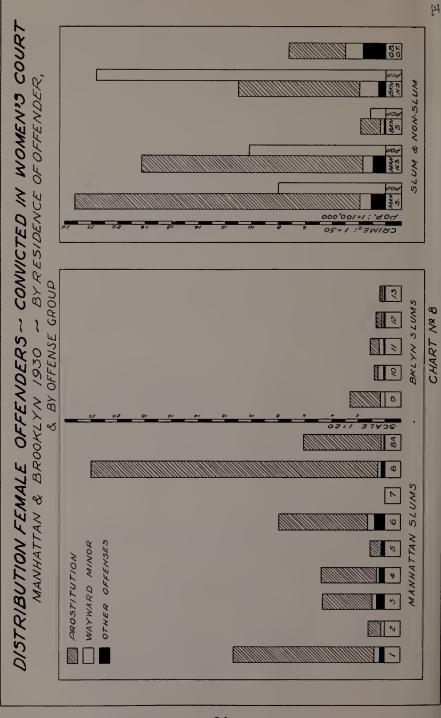


TABLE #32 PETTY OFFENDER FREQUENCY IN 21-25 AGE GROUP

INDEE " JE		TETT OTTENDER TREGOEROT TREE 20 AGE GROOT								
BOROUGH	SLUM			NON-SLUM		TOTAL				
		NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M			
MANHATTAN	M F	1,826 90	41.12 2.15	1,613 98	38.66 2.26	3.439 188	39.90 2.22			
BROOKLYN	M F	248 14	33.21 2.10	2.365 150	20.22	2,613 164	20.95			
	M I	SDEMEANAI	NT FREQUE	NCY IN 21	-25 AGE (GROUP				
MANHATTAN	M F	537 126	12.09 3.05	391 102	9.38 2.35	928 228	10.78 2.69			
BROOKLYN	M F	55 7	7.37 1.07	496 99	4.24 .84	551 106	4.42			

Criminals from the young adult age group swell our present population figures. Often they are difficult to rehabilitate, particularly in view of the fact that so many already have become deeply saturated in crime. How difficult is the rehabilitation of a criminal, has been described recently by Harvard's distinguished professor of social ethics, Dr. Richard Cabot. In reviewing the latest studies of the Gluecks, he thus defines the criminal:

"The criminal is a person who cannot be taught better in spite of facing the deterrent experiences which would probably straighten out many of the rest of us. Partly by nature, partly by bad environment and partly by habit, he has formed a definite bias for criminal ways of living."

(40)

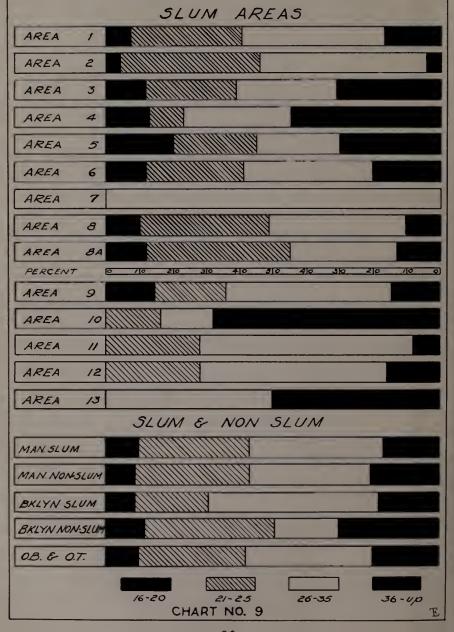
The above definition is not wholly without application to the youthful criminal, who, as statistics constantly are revealing, is usually a resident of slum areas.

Other Age Groups. When one turns to the upper age groups an increase in the number of arrests is apparent. The peak, in fact, is reached in the 26 to 35 age group. Out of every thousand males within these age brackets who

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Richard C. Cabot, M.D. "1000 Delinquent Boys" The Survey, Vol. LXX, No. 2, February, 1934. p. 40.

AGES OF FEMALE OFFENDERS CONVICTED IN WOMEN'S COURT-1930

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER



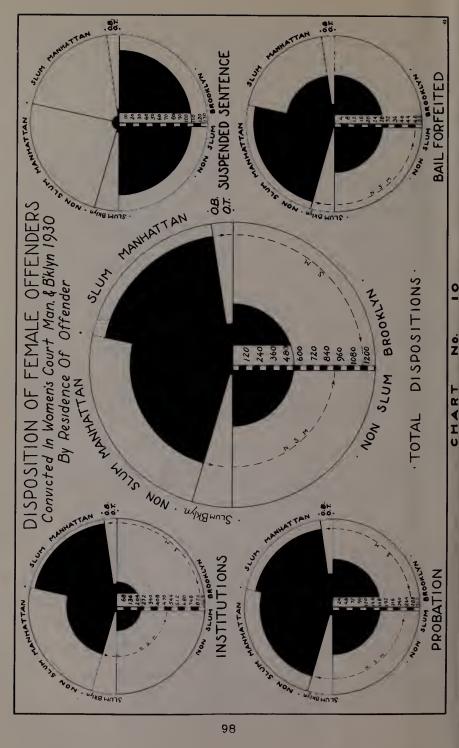
lived in Manhattan during 1930, 106 were arrested. Again the rate is higher in deteriorated areas; - 125 in every thousand males residing there being arrested. While the arrest frequency of this group is less in Brooklyn, the rate in the slums there is double that of the borough as a whole.

TABLE #33 ARRE	ST FREQUENCY	IN 26-35	AGE GROUP
----------------	--------------	----------	-----------

BOROUGH		SLUM		NON-S	SLUM	ТОТ	ΓAL
вокообп		NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M
MANHATTAN	M F	11,036 946	124.96 11.35	9,410 572	90.46 5.28	20,446	106.34 7.92
BROOKLYN	M F	960 119	84.06 11.76	9,776 875	43.59 3.90	10,736 994	45.54 4.23

The largest number of convictions for petty offenses among Brooklyn residents is in the 26 to 35 age group. This also contains the second highest number of such convictions involving residents of Manhattan. The most misdemeanants in both boroughs; and in Manhattan, the most felons, similarly are found in this age group. Thirty-three per cent. of the Manhattan felons were between 26 and 35 years of age. The rate per 1000 of the same age group, however, was less than that for adolescents and young adult felons.

TABLE #34	М	SDEMEANA	ANT FREQU	JENCY IN 2	6-35 AGE G	ROUP	
BOROUGH		SLUM		NON-	SLUM	ТОТ	AL
JON GOGII		NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M
MANHATTAN	M F	952 171	10.78 2.05	686 140	6.59 1.29	1,638 311	8.52 1.63
BROOKLYN	M F	76 15	6.65 1.48	790 130	3.52 .58	866 145	3.68 .62
	PET	TY OFFEN	DER FREQU	JENCY IN	26-35 AGE	GROUP	
MANHATTAN	M F	3.221 181	36.47 2.17	3,023 197	29.06 1.81	6,244 378	32.46 1.97
BROOKLYN	M F	390 21	34.15 2.07	3,598 281	16.04 1.25	3,988 302	16.92 1.29
		FELON F	REQUENCY	IN 26-35	AGE GROU	IP	
MANHATTAN	M F	200 5	2.26	134 8	1.28 .07	334 13	1.74
BROOKLYN	M F	11 1	.96 .10	123 5	.55 .02	134 6	.57



Statistical support is given by the above figures to the belief that an increase in age is accompanied by a decrease in criminality. The viewpoint is further borne out by figures for the 36 and upwards age group. As contained in the annexed set-up, they show a marked decrease in felony convictions, once the age of 36 is attained.

TABLE #35	FREQUENCY	0F	ARRESTS -	36	å	UP	AGE	GROUP
-----------	-----------	----	-----------	----	---	----	-----	-------

BOROUGH		SLI	JM	NON-	SLUM	TOT	AL
		NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M	NUMBER	PER M
MANHATTAN	M F	10, 299 660	6.2.30 4.28	7,940 432	38.41 2.01	18,239 1,092	49.03 2.96
BROOKLYN	M F	1, 119 91	44.39 4.04	9,473 621	23. 28 1. 52	10,592 712	24.52 1.66
		FREQ	UENCY OF	MISDEMEA	NANTS		
MANHATTAN	M F	933 112	5.64	672 153	3. 25 . 71	1,605 265	4.31
BROOKLYN	M F	10 2 13	4.05 .58	669 120	1.64 .29	771 133	1.79 .31
		FREQU	ENCY OF P	ETTY OFF	ENDERS		
MANHATTAN	M F	3,859 212	23. 34 1. 37	3,558 251	17. 21 1. 17	7,417 463	19.94 1.25
BROOKLYN	M F	416 22	16.50 .98	3,506 320	8.59 .79	3,922 342	9.08 .79
		F	REQUENCY	OF FELON	S		
MANHATTAN	MF	8 6 3	.52	90 4	.44	176 7	.47
BROOKLYN	M F	6 2	. 24	67 3	.16	73 5	.17

Whether the decrease in the number of elderly felons is explainable by the fact that many presumably are in prison, or whether fewer are risking arrest since the enactment of the so-called Baumes Laws, is a matter of speculation. Mostly the upper age levels are composed of alcoholic, vagrants and those convicted of Disorderly Conduct. Whoever would seek a Dillinger and like desperadoes must now turn to the lower age levels of the criminal population.

					D L O	PO:	F.S.	DISPOSITION CONVICTED IN WOMEN'S BY REE	T A BI O F COURTS SIDENCE	TABLE VIII DISPOSITION OF FEMALE OFFENDERS CONVICTED IN WOMEN'S COURTS - MANHAITAN AND BROOKLYN - 1930 BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER	FEMALE - MANHATTAN OF OFFENDER	A AND	OF F	E N -	OFFENDERS BROOKLYN - 1930							
					AHHAT	HANHATTAN SLUM	3						BROOKLYM SLUM	YN SL	3		HAR		NOK-SLUM	3	NO N	
OFSPOSITION	-	2	က	st.	r.	w	7	a	8 4	TOTAL	6	0_	=	12	<u></u>	TOTAL	SLUN 10TAL	MAN	8 X X	TOTAL	NAM NA	GRAND
PEMAL AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS	153	13	67	99	12	114		345	06	860	30	7	თ	rv.	2	53	913	594	248	842	217	1,972
PRDBATION	99	10	24	22	g	36		98	23	278	12	2	g	m	~	26	304	259	168	427	119	850
SUSPENDED SENTENCE WITHOUT PROBATION	1		1	-	1	н		~	2	10	10	۱۰۷	2			14	24	10	107	117	20	161
HOSPITAL																		2	1	т.		~
BAIL FORFEITEO	7		2	2		ý		2	7	29			1	1		2	31	64	29	78	11	120
TOTAL	227	23	94	96	19	157	0	439	122	1,177	52	11	18	6	2	95	1,272	914	553	1,467	367	3,106
																		Disp Insu Male TOTA	ositior fficier s	Disposition not Obtained Insufficient Information Males TOTAL COMVICTIONS	ation	13 13 2 3,134

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE OFFENDERS

FEMALE POPULATION OVER 15		105	R E	\$ 1 0 E																								
	_		GROUP		TOTAL	CONV.	OFFE CONV. PER	COL	OR .	HATIV		OFFEHSE					REAS		A C	TOTAL SLUH	SLUP	4 AR		TOT.	MAN.		NON SLUK TO	OTAL
POPOLATION	16	21-25 68	26-35 91	36-up 37	212	5.18	1.71	154	BLACK 58	195	17	PROSTITUTION	159	1	2	4 5	6	7 8	8.4	167	9 10	11	12 13	BKLN.	167		BELW.	212
40,950 SQ. BLKS.	31	68	91	37	227	0.20 0.17 5.55	0.06 0.05	8 6 168	1 59	207		TOTAL	172	1	2	2		3		180		1		1	181	1 44		227
POPULATION 18,166 50. BLKS.	1 2	9	10	1	21 2	1. 16 0. 11		17 2	4	17 2		PROSTITUTION WAYWARD MINOR OTHER OFFENSES TOTAL	2	8 2	1	2				13 2					13 2	6	2	21 2
POPULATION 53,377	9 6 14	20	22	23	74 6 14	1.38 0.12 0.26	0.31 0.02 0.06	62 5 13	12 1 1	57 6 12		WAYWARD HINOR	2		46 5 9	10 1 3	2			60 6 12		1	1	2	62 6 12	10		74 6 14
POPULATION 42,769	11 4	8	27	38	94	1. 76 1. 96 0. 09	0.68	76 4	8	53	31	PROSTITUTION WAYWARD HINDR	2	1	2	60 1	2			66 3		1		2	66 3	18	2	94 84 4
SQ. BLKS.	23	8	27	38	96	2.24	0.78	87	9	65	31	TOTAL	2	2	2	66 1	1			74					74	22	0	96
25,27B sq. BLKS.	3	4	4	5	3	0.12	0.05	3	3	1 13	2	WAYWARD MINOR OTHER OFFENSES				2 10		1		1 13					1	5	1	3 19
POPULATION 61,329 SQ. BLKS.	15 11 17	37 37	51	26 26	129 11 17	2.10 0.18 0.28 2.56	0.68 0.06 0.09	65 11 15	64 2 66	118 8 12	3	WAYWARD HINOR	1		1	2 1 1 3 1	97 8 9	3 1	1	105 9 11		1		1	106 9 11	21 2 6		129 11 17 157
POPULATION 2,168												PROSTITUTION WAYWARO MIHOR OTHER OFFENSES																
POPULATION 49,122	44 4 6	162	178	45	429 4 6	B.73 0.08 0.12	4.05 0.04 0.06	35 1 3	39 4 3 3	4 2 6 4 6	3	PROSTITUTION WAYWARD MINOR OTHER OFFENSES	6		2		6	373 2 6	3	390 2 6	1			1	391 2 6	1	3 1	429 4 6
SQ. BLKS.	54	162	178 39	45	439	8.93	4.15	39	71	110	9		3		2		6	38 1	33	398	1			1				119
26,958 \$Q. BLKS. 53	17	50	39	16	122	0.07	2. 30	50	72	113	9	OTHER OFFENSES	1 4		1		4	8										122
POPULATION 320,117 \$Q. BLKS. 1,079	113 37 56 206	358	422	191	1.084 37 56	3.39 0.12 0.17 3.68	1.01 0.03 0.05	470 33 47 550	614 4 9 627	988 32 46 1,066	5 10	WAYWARD HINDR	7 7	2	55 5 9 69	5 5	10	388 2 7 397		933 933	1	1 1	2 1	5	93B	6 14	1	1,084 37 56
POPULATION 6,955 8Q. BLKS. 86	7 5	10	24	6	47 5	6.75 0.72	0.54 0.06	9 5	38	46 5 51		PROSTITUTION WAYWARO MINOR OTHER OFFENSES TOTAL			4			1			27 2 29			27 2	32 2	1 1	14 2	47 5 52
POPULATION 14,217 SQ. BLKS.	4 1	1	1	4	6 4 1	0.42 0.28 0.07	0.04 0.03 0.01	6 3	1 1	6 4 1		PROSTITUTION WAYWARO MINOR OTHER OFFEHSES			1	1				1 1		4 4		4 4	5 4 1	1		6 4 1
POPULATION 13,579 SQ. BLKS.	3 1	4	9	1	14 3 1	1.03 0.22 0.07	0.14 0.03 0.01	8 3 1	6	13 3 1		PROSTITUTIOH WAYWARO MINOR OTHER OFFENSES			1	1				2	1	E	3 2	8 3	3	1	2	14 3 1
POPULATION 5,792	1 1	2	4	1	7 1 1	1.32 1.21 0.17 0.17	0.18 0.02 0.02 0.02	1 1 1 1 1	6	7 1 1	1	PROSTITUTION WAYWARO MINOR OTHER OFFENSES			1	1				1 1	1	10	2 1	2 1	3 1 1	1	3	7 1 1
POPULATION 5,797	2	2	1	1	2 2	0.34 0.34	0.20	2 2	6	9	1	PROSTITUTION WAYWARD MINOR			1	1				1]]	2	1 2	1	31	2 2
3Q. BLKS.	3	17	1 30	1	5	0.18	0.04	5	50	1 4	_1	TOTAL PROSTITUTION			1	2				10	27	4 6			3	2	19	76
\$0. BLKS.	15 4 26	17	39	13	95	0.32	0.15	14 3 43	52	15 4 92	3	WAYWARO MINOR OTHER OFFENSES			1 8	1 3		1		2					12 2	<u></u>	21	15 4 95
POPULATION 407,962 \$Q. BLKS. 1,606	73 35 50 158	285 1 286	292 1 293	176 1 177	826 35 53 914	2.02 0.09 0.13 2.24	0.52 0.02 0.03 0.57	704 34 52 790	122 1 1	748 32 46 826	78 3 7	PROSTITUTION WAYWARD MINOR OTHER OFFENSES TOTAL	44 3 4 51	8	16 1 3 20	30 2 2 3 35 2	10 2	39 1	6 1 7	155 10 10 175		1		1	156 10 10	665 24 43 732	1	826 35 53 914
POPULATION 868.013 50. 8LKS. 7,607	49 122 20	150 7 157	125 3 128	75 2 77	399 122 32 553	0.46 0.14 0.04	.05 .016 .004	225 118 24 367	174 4 8	369 122 28 519	30 4 34	PROSTITUTION WAYWARD MINOR OTHER OFFENSES TOTAL	3	2 1	9	B 3 4	3	1 5	6 1	6	3	1		30 12 3	62 19 9	7 8	96 15	399 122 32 553
M-RESIDENTS OF MANHATTAN AND BROOKLYN	23 64 69	69 6	82 5	42 7 49	216 64 87 367			178 61 83	38 3 4	190 57 80	26 7 7	PROSTITUTION WAYWARD MINOR OTHER OFFENSES TOTAL	15 5 3	2 1	7 4	B 2 4 7 19 2	3 4 3	6 1 7	3 1 1 5	46 15 19	2 1 6 9	1 3	1 1 1	3 2 11	49 17 30 96	153 35 41 229	14 12 16	216 64 87 367
POPULATION 366,457 30. BLKS. 1,573	120 52 60 232	375	264	204	1, 160 52 60 1, 272	3.17 0.14 0.16		496 47 50 593	664 5 10	1,061 47 50	5 10	PROSTITUTION WAYWARD MINOR OTHER OFFERSES	7 7	2	62 5 10	5 7 1	10	389 2 7	36 1 37	29	3 :	5 2	1 2		917 42 44 1,003	212 7 16	3	1, 160 52 60
4 POPULATION 1,275.975 30, BLKS. 9,213	122 157 70 349	435 8	417	251 3 254	1,225	0.96 0.12 0.07	0.13 0.016 0.009	76	296 5 9	1, 117 154 74	108 3 11	PROSTATUTION WAYWARD HINGR	47 3 4	10	25 1 3	38 2 5 7	10 5	43	12 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	187 17 16	25 11 3			31 12 3	'218 29 19	723 31 51	284 1 97 15	1.225 157 85
	POPULATION 18, 166 SQ. BLKS. 161 POPULATION 53, 377 SQ. BLKS. 241 POPULATION 42, 769 SQ. BLKS. 124 POPULATION 61, 329 SQ. BLKS. 190 POPULATION 25, 27B SQ. BLKS. 190 POPULATION 26, 95B SQ. BLKS. 11 POPULATION 39, 122 SQ. BLKS. 106 POPULATION 46, 95B SQ. BLKS. 53 POPULATION 5, 792 SQ. BLKS. 66 POPULATION 6, 955 8Q. BLKS. 1, 079 POPULATION 5, 792 SQ. BLKS. 98 POPULATION 5, 792 SQ. BLKS. 1, 606	POPULATION 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	POPULATION 1	POPULATION 1 2 9 10 18,166 2 9 10 30,8kts. 3 9 10 POPULATION 6 2 20 53,377 14 50,8kts. 29 20 22 POPULATION 11 8 27 POPULATION 4,2,769 8 50,8kts. 23 8 27 POPULATION 3 4 4 POPULATION 15 37 51 61,329 17 SQ. 8kts. 6 4 4 4 POPULATION 2 17 SQ. 8kts. 6 4 4 4 POPULATION 2 17 SQ. 8kts. 190 17 SQ. 8kts. 190 17 POPULATION 2 17 SQ. 8kts. 190 17 POPULATION 2 4 162 178 POPULATION 14 50 39 POPULATION 15 50 39 POPULATION 15 50 39 POPULATION 17 56 SQ. 8kts. 5 10 24 POPULATION 17 56 SQ. 8kts. 10 24 POPULATION 17 56 SQ. 8kts. 10 24 POPULATION 17 56 SQ. 8kts. 10 24 POPULATION 19, 30 358 422 POPULATION 19, 30 358 423 POPULATION 19, 30 358 358 POPULATION 19, 30 358	POPULATION 15 9 10 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	POPULATION 1	POPULATION 1	TOPULATION 1		Page Page	Toppulation 1	Topucation 1	Total	Total	Temperature 1		Temperature 1	Part	Part	Section Sect	Section Sect	The column The	Part	The control of the		Second Property Second Pro	Second S	

2,601 273 232

3, 106

507

265 273 199

737

893

GRAND TOTAL

960

969

998 2,368 13 258 23 204

2,072 1,034 2,830 276

233 PROSTITUTION
15 WAYWARD MINDR
28 OTHER OFFENSES

TOTAL

266 27 117 159 18 152

1,105 55 61 15 79 9

450

79 1,184 1,088 329 2,601 27 88 73 112 273 14 93 108 31 232



remale Delinquents. A statistical summary of the age composition of female offenders reveals some striking dissimilarities from the trend among males. The variation is most pronounced in the felony and is least evident in the juvenile delinquency group. Among juvenile females the age of greatest delinquency corresponds with that for juvenile males. The majority who were adjudged delinquent were between 13 and 16 years of age.

The adolescent female, that is the offender between 16 and 20 years of age, presents no problem comparable with that of the male adolescent. Only ten felony convictions are attributable to this age group. Of these, nine involved Manhattan residents. The fact that four of the ten convicted were charged with the commission of robberies is significant. Two adolescent females were convicted of Assault, the next ranking felony. From these facts, it would appear that the tendency towards daring crimes which characterizes the male also is noticeable among adolescent female felons. Fortunately, the latter are so few in number as to occasion no undue concern.

TARLE #36 FREQUENCY OF FEMALE MISDEMFANANTS

TABLE #3	6 FF	REQUENCY OF	FEMALE M	ISDEMEAN	IANTS	
		MANHATTAN			BROOKLYN	
FEMALE	SLUM	NON-SLUM	TOTAL	SLUM	NON-SLUM	TOTAL
16-20 21-25 26-35 36 Up	96 126 171 112	92 102 140 153	188 228 311 265	9 7 15 13	95 99 130 120	10 4 10 6 1 4 5 1 3 3
		FREQUENCY	OF FEMAL	E FELONS	3	
16-20 21-25 26-35 36 Up	3 4 5 3	6 3 8 4	9 7 13 7	1 2	1 3 5 3	1 3 6 5

Regardless of their home borough, the 26 to 35 age group embraces the majority of females convicted of misdemeanors and felonies. Manhattan females convicted of

prostitution similarly attain a maximum in this age group. In respect to prostitution convictions, the 21 to 25 age group ranks second in Manhattan and first in Brooklyn. Females within the 36 and upwards age group, convicted of prostitution hold third place. The statistics also confirm the fact that the majority of female malefactors reside in slum areas.

TABLE #37 FREQUENCY OF FEMALE PETTY OFFENDERS

		MANHATTAN			BROOKLYN	
FEMALE	SLUM	NON-SLUM	TOTAL	SLUM	NON-SLUM	TOTAL
16-20 21-25 26-35 36 Up	34 90 181 212	36 98 197 251	70 188 378 463	10 14 21 22	70 150 281 320	80 164 30 2 34 2
		FREQUENCY	OF FEMA	LE OFFEN	IDERS	
16-20 21-25 26-35 36 Up	20 6 358 4 22 19 1	158 286 293 177	364 644 715 368	26 17 39 13	19 1 157 128 77	217 174 167 90

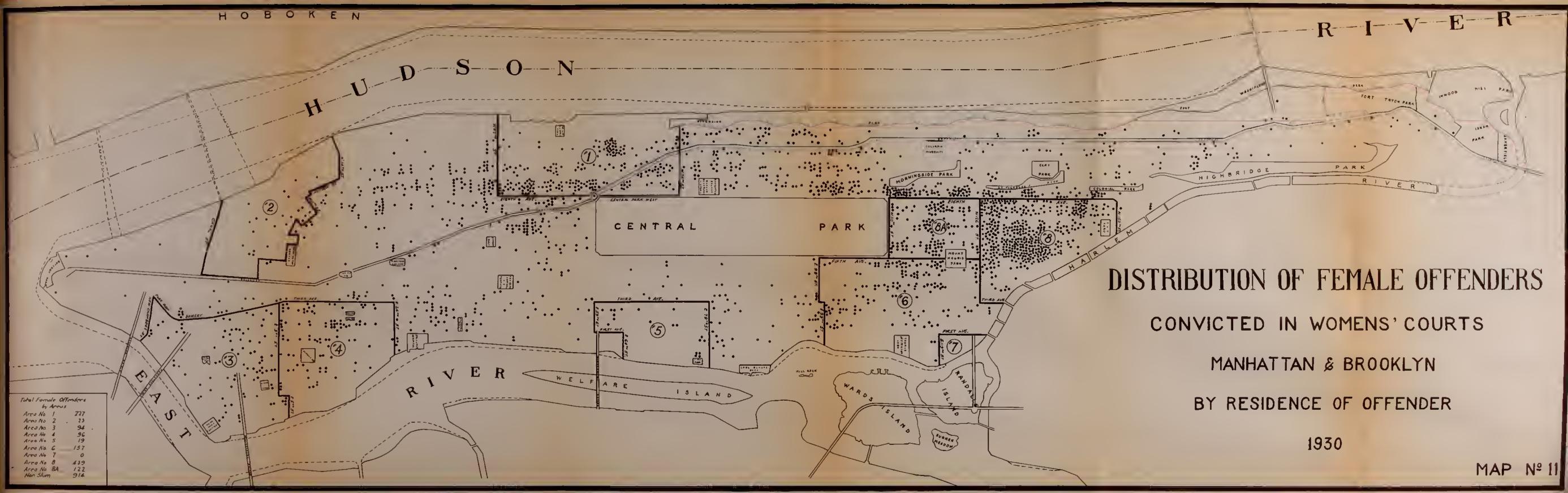
The Sex of Offenders

Two facts stand out sharply when the sex composition of offenders is considered statistically. First and most obvious is the fact that an overwhelming majority of offenders are males. As much does this apply to juvenile delinquents as to felons. Various reasons, some more cogent than others, have been offered in explanation of this situation. In commenting upon the sex of persons arrested in Massachusetts during 1920, Sutherland thus concludes:

"Such comparisons make it clear that many elements of a social nature are involved - codes, standards, ideals which effect the sexes unequally and that the different rates are not due to sex traits as such." (41)

The second, also supported by statistics, is the fact

(41) Edwin H. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 93.





that the delinquency in females often is allied with problems of sexual morality. Whatever shape it assumes, neither in frequency nor in severity does it compare with male delinquency. A brief glance at statistics will confirm this fact.

Females compose 22.7 per cent. of the Juveniles Adjudged Delinquent. They constitute 5.3 per cent. of Petty Offenders, 18 per cent. of Misdemeanants and only 3.4 per cent. of the Felony group, so far as Manhattan residents are concerned.

Nativity of Offenders

Statistical studies have dealt a death blow to the belief that the foreign born are responsible for most of the crime in our largest cities. It is a native product. Any attempts to ascribe it to that section of the population which has an immigrant background is open to the criticism voiced by Doctor Carl Kelsey of the University of Pennsylvania.

Me judge our own group by its best men and women, but we are prone to consider as typical the lowest of other races. That which we try to explain as due to peculiar individual circumstances in our society is explained as a racial trait if found elsewhere. I am not suggesting that this is the result of deliberate dishonesty on the part of the interpreter. Far from it. But it is an element in the present situation which the student dare not ignore. " (42)

That a large proportion of urban delinquents are the children of foreign born parents is widely acknowledged.

⁽⁴²⁾ Carl Kelsey, Immigration and Crime, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. CXXV, 214 May 1926, p. 166.

This situation usually is attributed to the cultural conflict between such children and their parents and implies a breakdown of family control. It should not be forgotten, however, that the decreased influence of the family as a primary institution for the social control of behavior is a national phenomenon and not confined to the foreign born.

TABLE #38

NATIVITY OF MANHATTAN OFFENDERS

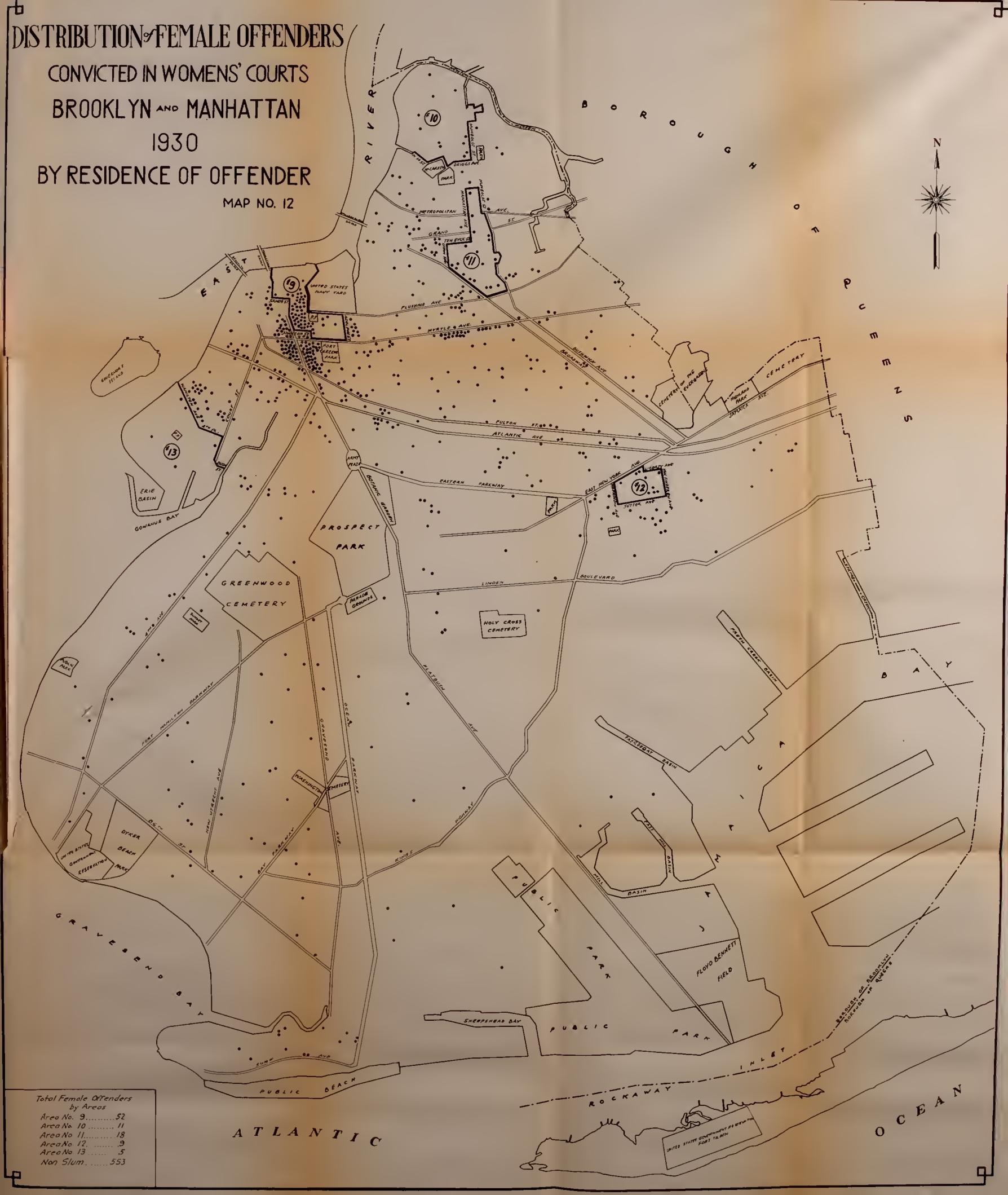
		MANHA	TTAN		_	SLI	JM			NON-	SLUM	
OFFENDERS	U. S	3.	FOF	₹.	U.S		FOF	₹.	U.S		FOI	₹.
	ACT.	%	ACT.	8	ACT.	8	ACT.	%	ACT.	%	ACT.	%
Juv.Del. Fem.Off. Pet.Off. Misd. Felons	1,892 15,554 3,976		112 199 4.834 2.077 267		2,316	90.6	101 111 2,610 1,144 50		826 7,394 1,660			2.3 9.6 23.1 36.0 25.8
Total	23,668	76.2	7,489	23.8	12,994	75.8	4,116	24.2	10,674	76.0	3.373	24.0

The above statistics illustrate how small a role the foreign born play in the drama of delinquency. Only 112 of the 1,577 juvenile delinquents residing in Manhattan were foreign born. Among Brooklyn juveniles the percentage is even lower, there being but 76 foreign born out of 2,083 juvenile delinquents in that borough. The misdemeanant group has the highest rate for foreign born delinquents living in Manhattan. Of this group they comprise 34.3 per cent. Similarly the misdemeanant group in Brooklyn contains the largest percentage of foreign born offenders who constitute 29.5 per cent. of the total.

TABLE #39

NATIVITY OF MANHATTAN OFFENDERS

		MANHA	TTAN			SLU	M			NON-S	SLUM	
OFFENDERS	U.S		FOF	₹.	U. S	S.	F(R.	U.S		FOR	₹.
	ACT.	15	ACT.	*	ACT.	8	ACT.	*	ACT.	8	ACT.	8
Juv. Del. Fem. Off. Pet. Off. Misd. Felons	2,007 611 10,222 2,617 430	94.3 75.8	1,089	5.7	92 951 237	96.0 96.9 73.9 62.8 68.5	3 335 141	4.0 3.1 26.1 37.2 31.5	9.271	93.9	948	3.5 6.1 24.1 28.5 19.8
Total	15,887	77.5	4,606	22.5	1,536	75.2	506	24.8	14,351	77.8	4,100	22.2





Apart from juvenile delinquents and female offenders, the lowest percentage of the foreign born is in the Manhattan petty offender and in the Brooklyn felony group. Foreign born receidents of Manhattan accounted for 23.6 per cent. of the convictions per petit offenses and for 25.3 per cent. of the felony convictions.

Resumé of Findings. Among the more salient findings as to the composition of the offender population are the youthfulness of the serious offender, the relative infrequency with which females appear in delinquent stiuations and the preponderance of native born offenders. The adolescent and the youthful adult male unquestionably are the most conspicuous factors in crime today. Youths between the ages of 16 and 20 were convicted of felonies more frequently than any other age group of Brooklyn residents. With an advance in age, seemingly there is a decrease in criminality. The upper age levels are composed mostly of alcoholics, vagrants and persons convicted of Disorderly Conduct. Among females, delinquency was found to reach a peak in the 26 to 35 age group which contains a majority of the women convicted of misdemeanors, felonies and prostitution.

One fourth of the felony convictions involving Manhattan residents were attributable to the foreign born. The majority of foreign born offenders residing both in Manhattan and Brooklyn were charged with Petty Offenses. In the face of these statistical findings the belief that the foreign born are responsible for most of our crime is utterly untenable. Crime is a native product.

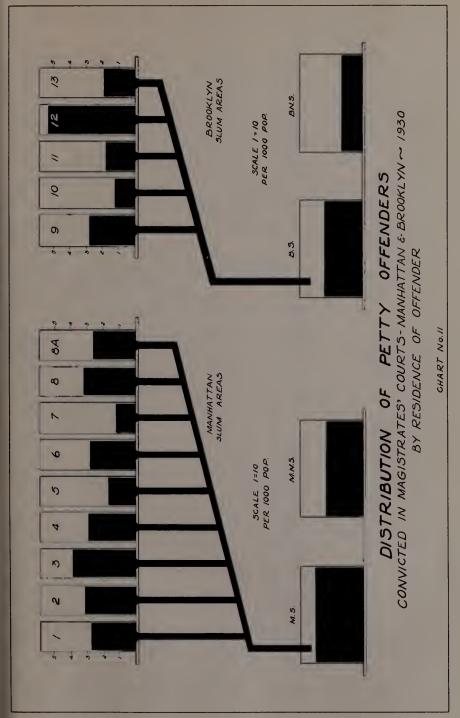
CHAPTER SEVEN

Delinquent Biographies

Delinquent biographies are the human highlights in any statistical picture of crime. Three are presented in this chapter. Taken at random from the files of the Probation Department of the Court of General Sessions, they vividly make clear how delinquent careers develop amid slum surroundings.

Two are the case historics of adolescents. At the time they came under investigation, both had shown unmistakable signs of becoming specialists in crime. Chaos colored their environment from the hour of their birth. Family controls, weak at the outset, became weaker as the youths grow in years and in the knowledge gained on the streets, in poolrooms and from criminally disposed companions. Both came from squalid, unsanitary and overcrowded homes. The unremitting efforts of family welfare and probation workers were insufficient to overcome the damage occasioned by the destructive forces of a slum environment. Handicapped by defective personalities as they began life, they were destined to be doubly handicapped by the slum milieu in which their lot subsequently was cast.

The third is the biography of a master criminal. Reared in the slums, he also began his apprenticeship in delinquency while a juvenile. The behavior patterns which he adopted and which shaped his subsequent career were derived from association with hoodlums and young criminals. Subsequently he turned to bootlegging, drug peddling and racketeering as a means of livelihood. The proceeds of his criminal activities proved so lucrative that he was enabled to move out of the slums and take up his residence in a luxurious apartment on the upper West Side. The slum,



however, continued to be a convenient center for his criminal activities.

In order to conceal identities, the names which appear in the following cases are fictitious. Addresses also have been changed for similar reasons. Otherwise the three cases are presented exactly in the form in which they were submitted to the Court. It should not be assumed that they typify the average run of delinquents. Delinquency varies even as individuals vary. It is believed, however, that the following biographies will serve to bring into sharp relief the relationship between a slum environment and delinquency trends.

A YOUTHFUL RECIDIVIST

	PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIO	N
INDICTMENT NO. 174192	DATE FILED INVESTI Aug. 2, 1928 C. P. H	GATED BY CASE NO. enry 10553
DEFENDANT Smith, Frank	ALIASES None	CO-DEFENDANTS Gordon, George
Unlawful Entry	:INDICTED FOR :DATE OF PL :Burglary Third Degree:Aug. 7, 1 :Petit Larceny :	
	:DISPOSITION : :Workhouse 6 months :	

PREVIOUS COURT RECORD

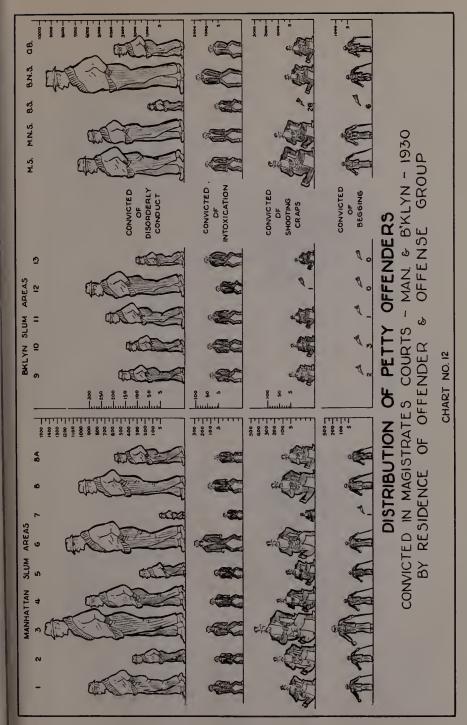
DAT	TE	OFFENSE	COURT	DISPOSITION
Feb. 13	3, 19 20	Juvenile Delinquency (Petit Larcenyl	Children's Court	Probation
Apr. 14	1, 1922	Juvenile Delinquency (Burglary)	Children's Court	Probation
		Receiving 2nd Degree Att. Burglary 3rd Deg.	General Sessions General Sessions	

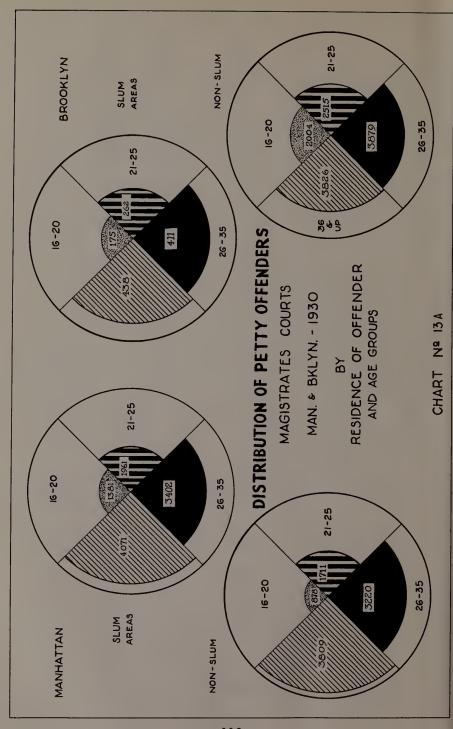
Abstract of Indictment

On July 25th, 1928, between the hours of 8 P.M. and 11:30 P.M. the defendants burglarized a furnished room at _____West Street, stealing a suitcase and clothing valued at \$50.00.

Offense

Edward Edwards of ____West Street is the complainant.





On the indicated date at about 8 P.M. the complainant after locking the padlock on the door of his furnished room left the premises. When he returned at about 11:30 P.M. he discovered that the padlock had been broken and his room had been entered. A suitcase and clothing of a total value of \$50.00 had been stolen. The theft was reported to the police of the Fifth Precinct.

On the following day at about 10:30 A.M., Patrolman Hubner of the Fifth Precinct was notified by a stranger that two youths were opening a suitcase in the yard at the rear of 419 West Street. Patrolman Hubner arrested the defendants, who were transferring the complainant's property from the suitcase to paper bags. All of the stolen clothing was recovered.

Mitigating and Aggravating Circumstances:

The night before the burglary was committed, the defendants rented a room in the same house evidently for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the premises. The complainant believes that they watched him leaving his quarters.

In the commission of the offense, the defendants, who had known each other since boyhood, appear to have been equally culpable. The defendants admit that they had intended to pawn the complainant's clothing.

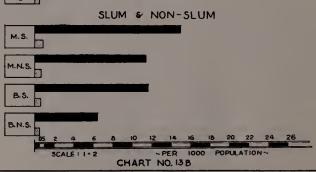
Attitude of Complainant: The complainant is desirous that the defendants be punished.

II. ANALYSIS OF ENVIRONMENT

Personal History: The defendant was born in Long Island City 20 years ago, but has spent most of his life in Manhattan. He is single.

Education and Early Life: Smith attended Public School 107 until he reached the 6-A grade, when he was 16 years old. As a pupil, he was unruly, backward and irregular in

DISTRIBUTION OF PETTY OFFENDERS CONVICTED IN MAGISTRATES COURTS - MAN. & B'KLYN - 1930 BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER & SEX MANHATTAN SLUM AREAS AREA AREA 2 AREA 3 AREA MALE: AREA 5 FEMALE: MARKET AREA 6 🔄 AREA AREA AREA A8 BROOKLYN SLUM AREAS 9 AREA 10 AREA AREA 12 AREA 13 SLUM & NON-SLUM M.S.



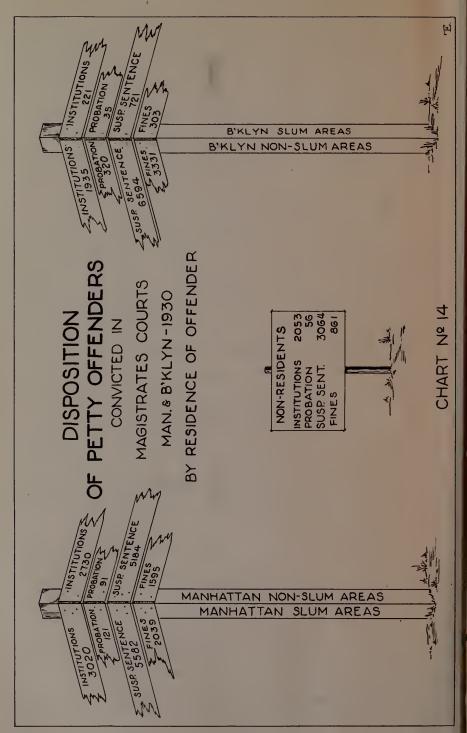
his attendance. The efforts of his teachers to secure parental cooperation met with no success. Since his infancy the defendant had been known to numerous social agencies. The reports of these agencies indicate that as a child Smith lived in an unclean and overcrowded home and that he received no constructive training from his parents. Through the action of social organizations, the defendant was placed in a child caring institution at Sparkill, N.Y. when he was ten years old.

At about the same time his mother was brought before the Bronx Children's Court on a charge of Improper Guardianship, lodged by the Children's Society. In consequence of her defiant attitude toward the Court and her refusal to permit the Children's Society to temporarily provide for her offspring, she was committed to the Workhouse for six months charged with Disorderly Conduct in the Court.

The defendant was first delinquent when twelve years of age, being arrested for stealing tableware valued at \$4.20 from a West Side restaurant. When arraigned in the Children's Court on a charge of Petit Larceny, he was placed on probation. The Probation Officers found the home to be unwholesome. Their repeated attempts to institute a constructive program were handicapped by the defendant's parents.

In April of 1922, the defendant again was arraigned in the Children's Court, this time charged with breaking into a store and stealing cigars valued at \$140. He was placed on probation, but the intensive efforts of probation and family welfare workers again failed to produce any visible improvement in the defendant's behavior and the family attitude.

In brief, Smith's early life was characterized by an



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array of social evils, in a large measure fostered by the attitude of the parents, who blocked the efforts of agencies to better the home conditions and improve the behavior of the defendant.

Family and Neighborhood: The defendant is the oldest of five surviving children. Five others died, most of them in infancy.

The defendant's father had been unable to work since he received an injury while working as a longshoreman last May. He was convicted of Disorderly Conduct and placed on probation in 1923. An examination conducted at that time indicated that he was of dull mentality.

The defendant's mother refused to admit the investigating officer of this Department to her home, which is now located at _____W. 46th Street. However, in an interview which she consented to hold in the hallway, she indulgently discussed the past delinquencies of the defendant. To family welfare workers, probation officers and others who have had contact with her in the past, she was generally defiant and vituperative. She has defied the police and on one occasion refused them admittance when they came to arrest the defendant for a crime he had committed.

The family resides in five rooms paying \$30.00 monthly for these quarters. The house is a malodorous, old law tenement. Records of numerous social agencies reveal that the Smith family have been accustomed to quarters which have been described as *unfit for human habitation." Smith has been living at home constantly since his release from Napanoch in 1927.

Some 35 social agencies at various times have had contact with the Smith family. The agencies include the

					8	DISE	00 S	I T IO	ATE S	TABLE IX DISPOSITION OF PETTY OFFENDERS CONVICTED IN MAGISTRATE'S COUNTY OFFENDER EY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER	n in in in	T ≺ HATTA FENDE	OFF AND	BROOK	LYN LYN	1930						
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DISPOSITION	-	2	60	-	S	•	~	80	₹.	TOTAL	6	0.	=	12	13	TOTAL	SLUM TOTAL	МАМ	ВКИ	TOTAL	MAN	TOTAL
WORKHOUSE	348	115	655	331	85	515	4	460	170	2,683	43	56	38	6 0	25	140	2,823	2,460	1,150	3,610	1,844	8.277
FINE	216	121	508	258	119	422	7	253	135	2,039	65	20	43	118	27	303	2,342	1, 595	3,331	4,926	861	8, 129
SUSPENDED	724	459	1,185	734	206	957	21	828	467	5,582	117	125	193	188	98	721	6,303	5, 184	6,594	11,778	3,064	21,145
CITY PRISON	22	10	117	61	φ	41		26	22	335	28		80	13	29	78	413	266	765	1,031	204	1,648
PROBATION	6	11	18	16	æ	34		12	12	121	4	7	11	ro.	œ	35	156	91	320	411	56	623
NEW YORK CITY REFORMATORY					1					2			2		1	3	5	4	20	24	5	34
OTHER O:SPOS:TIONS		1	5		2					60		1	3	2		9	14	18	44	62	94	170
TOTAL	1,319	718	2,488	1,400	427	1,969	33	1,610	806	10,770	257	509	298	334	188	1, 286	12,056	9,618	12,224	21,842	6.128	40,026

Charity Organization Society, Catholic Charities, Salvation Army, Probation Department of the Children's Court, the Probation Department of General Sessions Court, various hospitals, day nurseries and clinics.

Without exception the records of these organizations stress the refusal of the family to cooperate with them. The failure is attributed in part to the frequent unemployment of Smith's father and his habitual addiction to liquor and the institutional background and mental retardation of the mother. She evidences psychopathic tendencies and from her past attitude it appears that she is unwilling to respond to good counsel or assistance.

In his family life the defendant has experienced the vicious influence of such social evils as abject poverty, indifferent parents, drunkeness and improper housing.

Industrial History: The defendant has been in custody since July 26th, 1928. He claims, and his mother confirms the claim, that upon his release from Napanoch in December 1927 he procured employment at a wage of \$25.00 weekly with a friend of his father's, one "Joe," a truckman. The latter allegedly keeps a truck in a garage at 19-9th Avenue. Smith states that he was discharged on the day prior to his arrest.

Repeated, but unsuccessful efforts have been made to locate this employer. In the neighborhood no information about Smith's alleged employment could be obtained. He admits, however, that he did not work regularly for "Joe," and that he frequently has been idle. He is unable to furnish evidence indicating any vigorous efforts to procure steady employment. He is prevented by a delicate physique from engaging in strenuous labor. The fact that he has received no vocational training precludes his employment

in a trade.

Before his alleged employment with "Joe," and since March of 1924, Smith was incarcerated in Elmira and Napanoch. For a brief period before his commitment to these institutions, he had worked as a truck helper for \$16.00 per week for the Bell Heel Company.

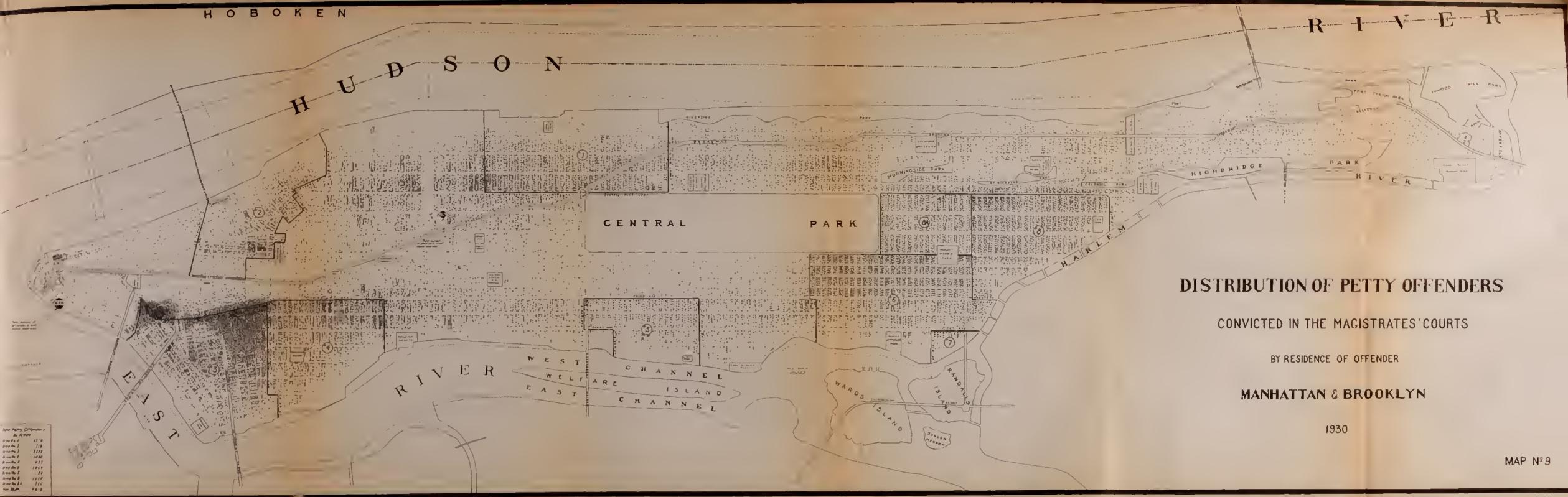
From his industrial history as thus presented it is apparent that Smith is as maladjusted industrially as he is in his family life.

III. ANALYSIS OF PERSONALITY

Physical and Mental: While he was on probation in 1923 a mental examination of the defendant established that his Intelligence Quotient was .94. He relates that as a result of his initial failure to obtain his parole from Elmira Reformatory he simulated mental deficiency. When given an intelligence test, he deliberately supplied answers which he knew to be incorrect. To support this statement he reviewed for the present investigating officer, several of the questions, giving both the correct answers and those which he knew to be false. By this ruse he brought about his transfer to Napanoch. Examination at the Institution for Defective Delinquents at Napanoch disclosed that he had an Intelligence Quotient of .76.

Dr. Lichtenstein, Physician to the City Prison, reports that the defendant is a mental defective but not of a committable type. Physically, he is suffering from malnutrition.

Character and Conduct: When interviewed Smith was furtive and dogged in manner. A person who under normal conditions might be considered amiable and carefree, he appeared to be supressed by fear, resentment and caution. Although he discusses his present delinquency and past





record freely, he is not always accurate. His manner reflects his prolonged institutionalization.

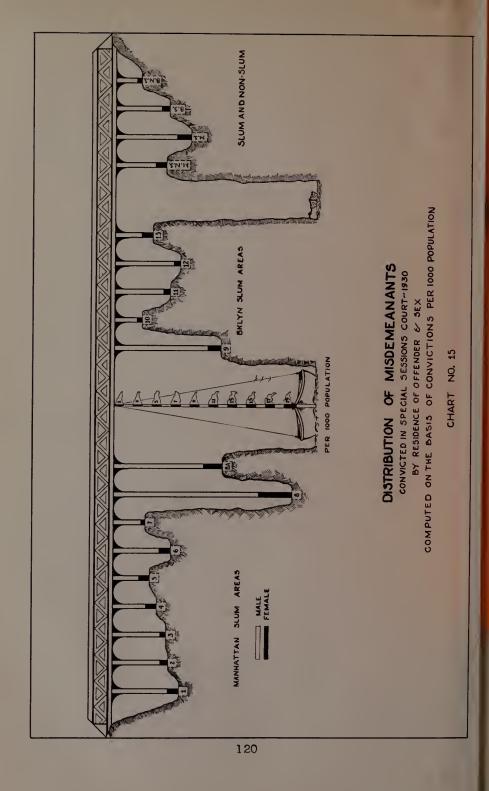
The defendant has appeared in this court on two previous occasions. In December of 1923, in company with the co-defendant and other youths, he participated in a theft of soda water from a bottling company. He pleaded guilty to Receiving Stolen Goods in the Second Degree, and was placed on probation by Judge Mulqueen.

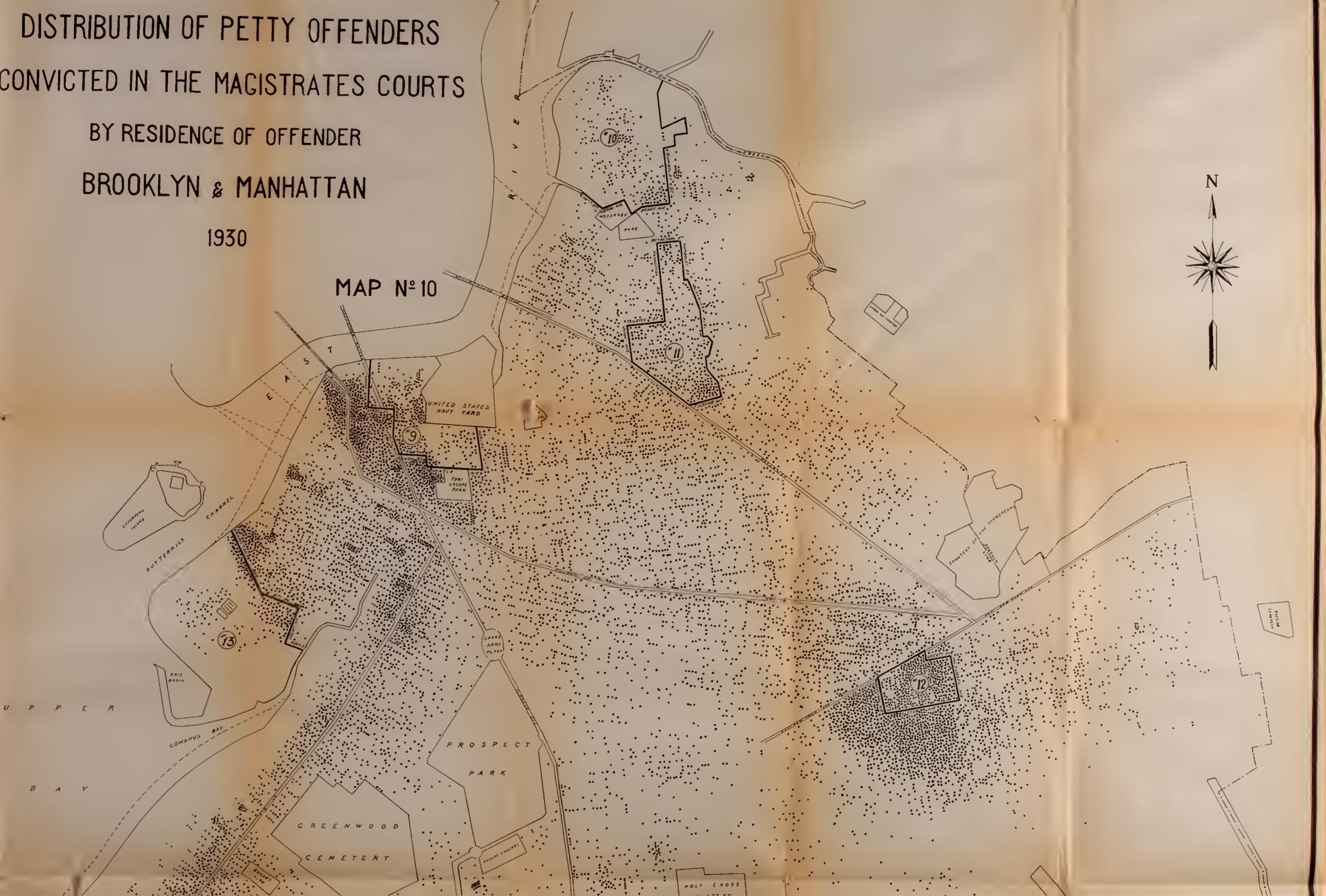
Catholic Charities initiated a constructive program to rehabilitate the defendant, but their aim was defeated largely by lack of cooperation within his home. The following incident is cited as an illustration: Smith's Probation Officer obtained approximately \$100 from Catholic Charities in order to outfit him with clothing. The defendant returned home with the clothes whereupon his mother immediately pawned them. On the same night Smith was arrested for breaking into a warehouse.

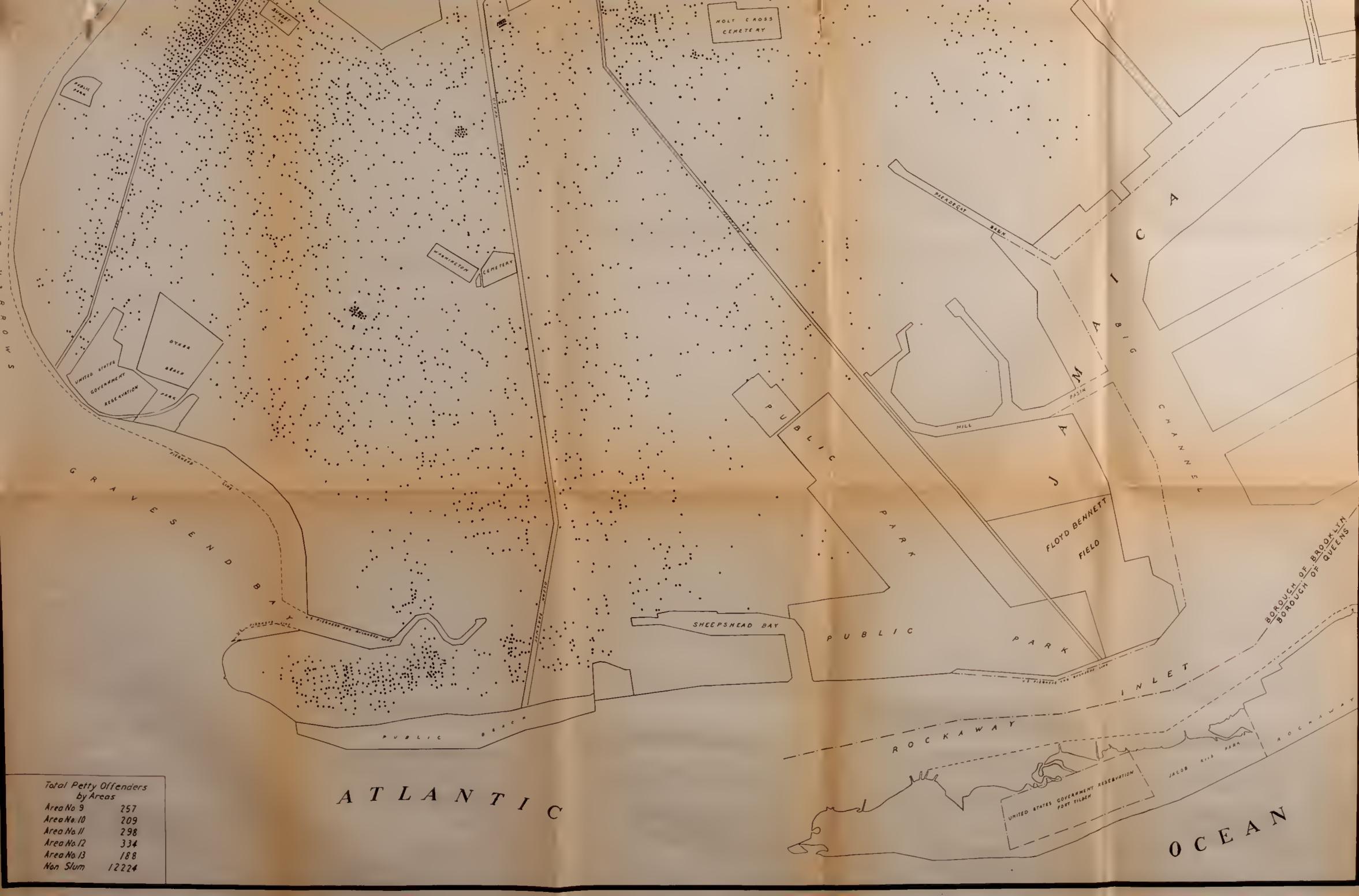
For this offense he was again arraigned in this court. After pleading guilty to Attempted Burglary, Third Degree, he was sentenced by Judge Mulqueen to the Elmira Reformatory. In August of 1926 he was transferred to the Institution for Mental Defectives at Napanoch where he remained until Dec. of 1927 when he was paroled. In virtue of his present offense, he is a parole violator.

The Police who regard the defendant as a disorderly delinquent, suspect that in company with other youths, he has occasionally stolen money from intoxicated individuals along the water front.

Aetiology: Smith's recurrent delinquency may be attributed to a combination of constitutional and environmental factors. Categorically these are: dull mentality, an impaired physical condition due to malnutrition, and









the deteriorating influences of an unclean and inadequate home, poverty, industrial maladjustment. Added to these are: ineffectual parental control, unwholesome examples within the home, defective education, the absence of supervised recreation, evil associations and to some extent his reaction to institutional experience.

The interaction of all these forces have made impossible a balanced and wholesome development of character. There is evidence, however, that had the defendant's innately sound qualities not been distorted, they might have produced a socially responsible individual.

• • •

A well organized home is the staunchest bulwark against delinquency. When the home is inefficient, when the neighborhood is a slum, and when the child is given a key to the streets, misbehavior is usually the outcome. Never more so, in fact, than when the child is also possessed of a defective personality.

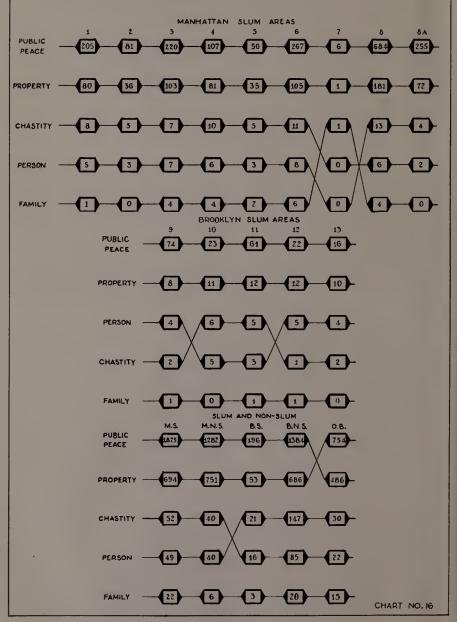
The case which follows is like hundreds of others in the files of the Probation Department of the Court of General Sessions. It reveals the ingredients of which delinquent lives are compounded. There is a shattered child-hood, consequent upon the father's death and the mother's employment. There is poverty which means a home in the slum. The stepfather problem is also present. From this the street affords a welcome escape. Soon the poolroom is entered and there begins a companionship with youths wise in the ways of the underworld. There is, in short, another among the delinquents bred in the slums.

DISTRIBUTION OF MISDEMEANANTS

CONVICTED IN SPECIAL SESSIONS COURT ~ 1930

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER & OFFENSE GROUPS

SHOWING ACTUAL NUMBER & OFFENSE GROUPS



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INVECT	LGATION	EUD	COLIDA

INDICTMENT NO. 181407	DATE FILED May 10, 1930	INVESTIGATED Levy	BY CASE NO. 14610
DEFENDANT Michaels, Michael	ALIASE: el Michael Mo		CO-DEFENDANTS Joseph Michaels James Michaels
Unlawful Entry: (Plea)	INDICTED FOR : Burglary 3rd Degree: Petit Larceny : Receiving :		
	DISPOSITION INew York City Reform Probation 2 years		:

PREVIOUS COURT RECORD

DATE	OFFENSE	COURT	DISPOSITION
Jan. 12, 1926	Improper Guardianship	Children's Court	Probation

Abstract of Indictment

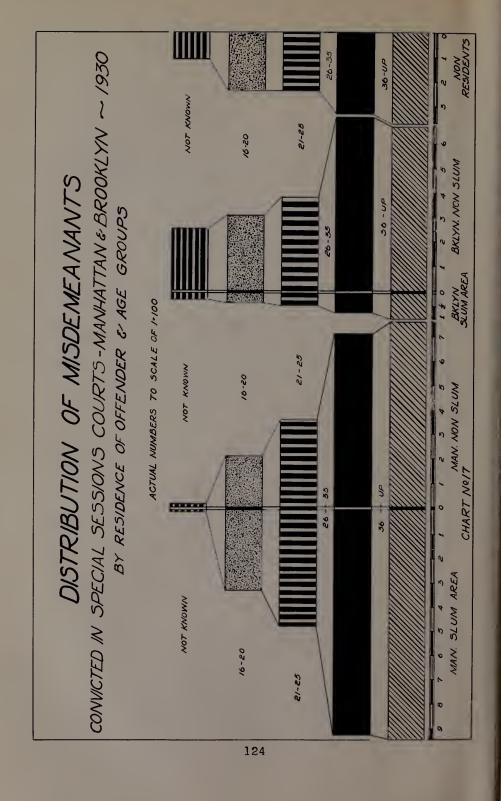
On April 16, 1930, at about 3:30 P.M., the defendants, by breaking a door-lock, gained entrance to a vacant building at 999 West 70th Street and stole therefrom electrical and other fixtures valued at \$3.10.

Offense

The Secretary of the Central Park Company, which owns the above building, is the complainant.

Early on April 16, 1930, the vacant building at 999 West 70th Street was securely locked by the caretaker. Later on the same day a passerby who had observed the defendants loitering suspiciously in front of the building, notified two policemen of the 20th Precinct. They found the co-defendants hiding on the second floor and the defendant on the roof. A search of the roof revealed five door-knobs and concealed on James' person were two electric fixtures.

Investigation disclosed that the trio had entered the building by breaking the lock on the door leading from the



street to the basement. The three youths were thereupon placed under arrest.

Mitigating and Aggravating Circumstances: The arresting officers are of the opinion that the defendants, who are brothers, are equally culpable. Although the stolen property was recovered intact, the defendants damaged some plumbing fixtures which they had attempted to steal. According to the complainant, it will cost approximately \$300 to replace these fixtures.

Attitude of Complainant: The complainant will be in accord with the Court's disposition of the case.

II. ANALYSIS OF ENVIRONMENT

Personal History: Aged 18, and single, the defendant is a native resident of this city.

Education and Early Life. The defendant attended various Elementary Schools, until the age of fifteen when he attained the 7A grade. Teachers at the schools he attended characterized him as a backward pupil who also was very irregular in his attendance.

When the defendant was a year old, his father died. Thereafter he was reared by his mother who had to secure employment as an office cleaner in order to support herself and her children. The mother, a highly emotional individual, was unable to supervise her children properly by reason of her preoccupation with economic problems. As a consequence the defendant soon drifted into association with disorderly youths in an unwholesome and congested tenement district. At the age of five the defendant as a destitute child was placed in a protective home by the Department of Public Welfare. A year later he was released in the care of his mother. At the age of 14, he was brought before the Children's Court on a charge of Improper Guard-

DISPOSITION OF MISDEMEANANTS

~ 1930 CONVICTED IN SPECIAL SESSIONS COURTS - MANHATTAN & BROOKLYN BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER

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SCALE - ACTUAL NUMBERS

ianship and was placed on probation.

Family and Neighborhood: The defendant is the fourth in sequence in a family of five children. Following the death of his father in 1913 his mother married John Jones, now aged 56. No children were begotten of this union. The younger members of the family have assumed their stepfather's name.

The defendant's mother was on probation to this court in 1923, having been convicted of Grand Larceny, 2nd Degree. An unstable personality, she tacitly condoned her children's delinquency, and is unwilling to admit any possible defect on their part. The defendant's mother and step-father have been separated since a quarrel about a month ago over the defendant's frequent idleness.

At the time of his arrest, the defendant was residing with his family at ______West 46th Street. The family has a poorly furnished five room apartment, rented for \$25.00 monthly. The physical conditions of the home are deplorable; being unsanitary and unconducive to home life.

The family is known in the neighborhood to over-indulge in intoxicants and to sell home brew. It appears that the defendant, due to irregular employment, seldom has contributed toward the family upkeep. The group's subsistence has been derived largely from the earnings of the step-father, a foreman scaffolder whose wages average \$50.00 weekly.

Industrial History: The defendant has been in the City Prison since April 16th, 1930.

At the time of his arrest, he had been idle for a week. Before that, he had been employed for three weeks by a subway construction company of ____Gates Avenue, Brooklyn, as a laborer. This concern at the time was engaged

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DISPOSITION	-	2	6	*	5 6	AN SLUM 6 7	<u> </u>	60	48	TOTAL	6	0-	BROOKLYM 11	12 1	<u> </u>	TOTAL	ARO BKR SLUH	KAR	BKH BKH	TOTAL	A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A	GRANO TOTAL
STATE PENITENTIARY	46	23	52	30	Ŋ	35		7.1	32	294	-	o o	ω	w	2	26	320	265	154	419	104	843
WORKHOUSE	127	39	96	2	20	138	2	504	167	1,137	13	6	16	13	-	52	1,189	641	400	1,041	270	2,500
SUSPENDED SENTENCE MITHOUT PROBATION	4	7.7	91	82	38	126	2	249	9.2	807	62	14	39	23	20	158	965	663	1,142	1,805	514	3, 284
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CITY PRISON	2	1	3			4		-	ω	20						2	22	13	26	39	თ	02
STATE REFORMATORY	5	3	11	7	2	12		11	r _C	26	6		2			و	62	68	56	124	32	218
OTHER INSTITUTIONS	2	2	1	1				2	1	60		1				1	6	9	9	12	7	28
TOTAL	299	123	341	208	96	397	88	888	339	2,698	88	45	82	41	32	289	2,987	2,113	2,322	4,435	1,307	8,729

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in the demolition of a building at 29th Street and 11th Avenue. The defendant's employment terminated with the completion of the work. His earnings were \$4.00 per day and by his employers his services were considered to have been satisfactory.

Although Michaels claimed that he had been employed for about one year by William Jones of 909 West 62nd Street as a helper on an ice wag on at a wage of \$18. weekly, Jones states that the defendant worked for him only at irregular intervals. He characterized Michaels as an unreliable and indifferent worker. After leaving school, the defendant had been employed by the Popular Press of _____ West 59th Street as an errand boy, earning \$12. weekly. An irregular worker, he was frequently tardy and was absolutely unreliable.

The defendant's employment record since leaving school, has been poor. He has made no effort to adjust himself industrially and for a year and a half, he has depended entirely upon his relatives for his upkeep. He has no vocational equipment and is devoid of any incentive to engage in gainful work.

III. ANALYSIS OF PERSONALITY

Physical and Mental: At the direction of this Department, the defendant was examined at the Neurological Institute on May 16, 1930. Apart from being undernourished he was found to be physically sound.

He has an Intelligence Quotient of .60, which, when strictly interpreted, would place him in the moron group. According to the examiner, Michaels obviously was laboring under an emotional strain. Hence it may be, that if tested under more advantageous circumstances, he would attain a higher intelligence quotient.

Character and Conduct: An adolescent, Michaels has been handicapped by personality defects and environmental circumstances. Mental retardation, a weak will and an impressionable nature are his major personality defects. To these may be added, immaturity of judgment and an absence of ethical concepts. His interests are limited, centering principally upon pleasure and the activities of his companions. Ambitionless, he faces the future without concern and without plan.

Virtually no family control has been exercised over his behavior. His idleness has been tolerated and his associations have been unsupervised. Street corner and poolroom loitering has been his main recreation. He admits to sexual irregularities, occasional over indulgence in liquor and petty thievery. For companions, he has chosen disorderly and criminally disposed youths. On their disordered patterns, he has based his own conduct.

• • •

Different from the common conception of a slum bred criminal, is the one whose biography is here presented in brief. His dress, speech and manners failed to betray his earlier background. The apartment he occupied at the time of his convictions was the direct opposite of his childhood home. Like many racketeers, he moved out of the slums. However well he may have concealed his real character, he still remains a by-product of the slum conditions which make for delinquency.

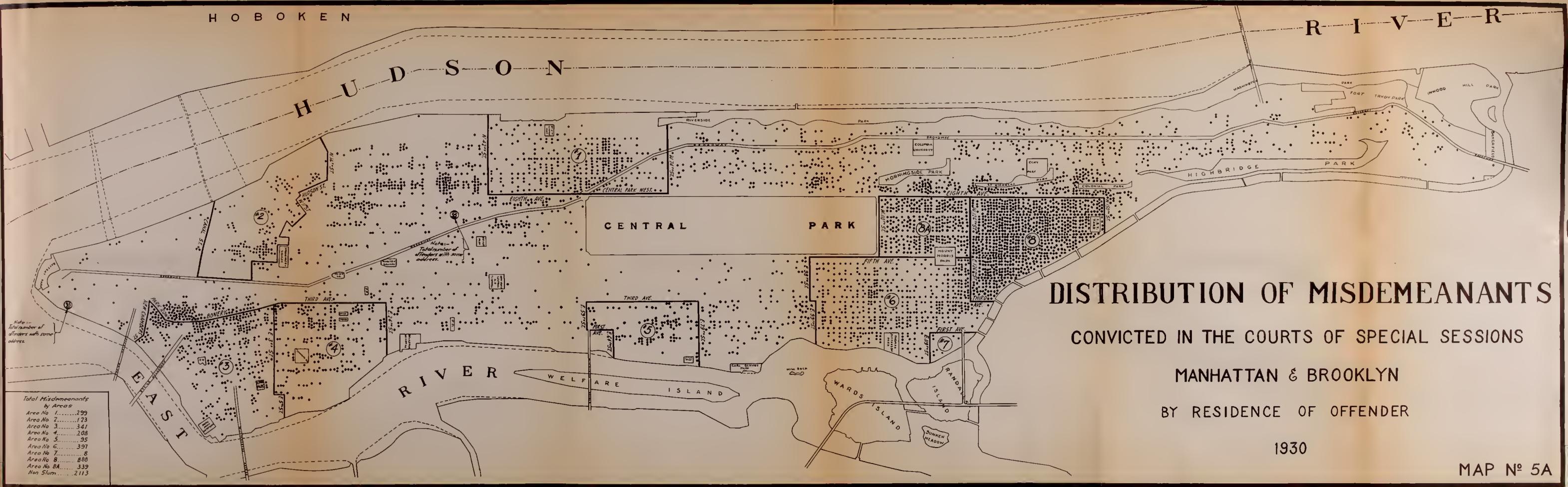
The biography also serves to emphasize the need for appraising the early background of the criminal. As the Illinois Crime Survey has established, gangsters and other criminals are the outcome of their early surroundings,

DISTRIBUTION OF MISDEMEANANTS

CONVICTED IN SPECIAL SESSIONS COURT - MANHATTAN AND BROOKLYN - 1930
BY RESIDENCE, PLACE OF OFFENSE, AGE, SEX, NATIVITY AND OFFENSE GROUPS

															BY R	ESIDE	NCE.	PLACE	OF 0)FFEN:	SE, A	GE, S	SEX.	HATI	VITY AND OFF	FENSE	GRQUI	PS -														
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2	HALE 21,81 FEHAL 16,18	E 15 LE 56	0 8	1 4 5	3	87 2 8 26	3 1	1 3 5 43 5 52			251 3 23 79	13	1.05 3.62 4.95	.72	:	02 02 14 49	08 01 09	186 2 13 49 66	3.5	5 2	1 1 1 10 30 42	7		PI CI FI PI	REA TOTAL ERSON HASTITY AMILY ROPERTY UBLIC PEACE	1 5 6	1 3 2 48 54	3	1 1 2	2 1 3	1	1	2 3 7 58					1	2 3 0 7 58	26 21 47	3 2	3 3 0 36 81
3	HALE 82,24 FEMAL 53,37 \$0. BLC 241	E	9 6 6 6 5 6	1 14 31 46	6 5	1 4 1 18 64 88 1	4	5 3 3 29 97	1		7 7 7 4 80 209		.11 .06 1.29 3.36	.43		87 .	.09	4 2 42 90 138	-	4 1		5 7	1 0	PI	ERSON MASTITY AMILY ROPERTY UBLIC PEACE REA TOTAL	1 1 16	_	2 2 4 31 25 1	2 1 1 3 1	1	4	2 1	2 3 4 43 157				2 2	2	2 3 4 43 159 211	3 1 54 51	2 3 6 10 21	7 7 4 103 220 341
•	HALE 45.82 FEMAI 42.76 SQ. BL(23 LE 69 OCKS	1 1 1 9 9 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	3 10 16	8 2	1 3 7 30 41		3 3 4 10 47			5 9 4 38 102		.09	1.01	1.	07 03 31 82 27	.01 .01 .34 .04	2 6 21 58 87		3		3 2		F P P	ERSON HASTITY AMILY ROPERTY UBLIC PEACE REA TOTAL	11 11 12		-	2 1 1 1 1 7 3	3		1	3 1 17 83 108	1				1	1 17 84 109	2 4 3 61 20 90	3 3 3	10 4 81 107 208
5	HAL 24.3 FEHA 25.2 SQ. BL 69	26 1.E 7.8 0CKS	1 4 5 8	1 4 5 10	6	1 2 1 24 28	7 1 8	1 2 1 2 9	5 3		3 4 2 11 46 66	1 24 4 29	2.71	.04 .95 .16		03 16 67	.01 .35 .06	2 1 10 27 41			1 3 1 19 25	12 3		C F P	ERSON HASTITY AMILY ROPERTY UBLIC PEACE REA TOTAL	2		1	1 4 2 8 33 1 48	1			5 2 8 37 53			+			5 2 8 37 53	27 13 41	1	5 2 35 50 95
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HAR S L U M	HAI 342, FEM, 320, SQ. BI	459 ALE ,117 LOCKS 079	5 1 2 1 106 75 129 13	+	91 28	16 22 5 106 617 766 1	51	20 16 90 701 841 11	2 10 1 3	-	49 22 390 .708		1.1 4.9'	5 1.	95 53 1 51 2	.02 .36 .58	.007 .003 .28 .16	29 275 1,075 1,412	16 11	11	20 14 114 630 797 1	59	1 3 4 0		CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE AREA TOTAL PERSON	9 1 21 255 290	-	2 4 34 143 185 1	_	-	_	195	35 22 193 1,491 1,770	1	0	1 1	1 2	5	1,496 1,775	484 358 868	18 24	22 695 1,878 2,698
MAR KOR S L U	391, FEH 407, SQ. B	,591 ALE ,962 LOCK3	75 77 89 11 169 88		78 22 100	19 8 4 101 446 578	30	19 2 123 1462 615 1	2 1 06 2 43 7		36 386 1,173 1,639	364 106 474	3.0	0 1.	01 89 20 16 1	.02 .005 .24 .73	.005	266 69	1		9 118 474 619		1 2 8	0	CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE AREA TOTAL PERSON	2 9 117 129	1 4 24 30		1 1 2 10 19 4 23 15	26	11/8	3 37 6 41	67 339 420	1	3 1		5 1	11 2	70 345 431	665 917		750 1,279 2,113
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L	1 FE 13	ALE ,138 HALE ,579 BLOCKS	3 2 3 B	2 1	1 1 1 1 3 1	1 2 9	1 4 5	1 25 28	2 2 1	0 0	5 1 8 55 72	1	6 3.	11	. 30 . 44 . 74	.05 .01 .08 .56	.04	2	_	3 2 5	3 2 24 31	5	1 2 7	-	CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE AREA TOTAL PENSON	E			1			1 2	1 3	1		1 43 44	2	1 1 43 45	1 2 46 49		21	1 12 61 82
	2 FE 5 5 .	IALE .95% EMALE .792 BLOCKS	3 3	0	1 1 1 7 2	1 1 7 7 10	0	1 2 7 10	2	2 2 4 0	1 1 9 22		3 1. 3. 4 6.	17 17 51 69	.52	.02 .02 .21 .50	.07	1	1 4 1 1 9 2	1	1 3 9 14	3	2 2		CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUGLIC PEACE AREA TOTAL PERSON	E				1 1		<u> </u>	1			1	7 1	1 5 9 17	18	2 1	1 20 3 20	1 12 22 41 4 2
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	16	MALE 2,015 EMALE 6,340 BLOCKS	3 13 15 31	8	3 5 25 1	7 6	2 11	6 7 75 92	3 6	2 2 4 21 29 0	3 17 17 25	3	18 18 39	31 06 67 42	.39	.03 .00 .07 .36	5 .03	5 1	6 18 81 19	13 8	1 13 75 101	5 10 17	2 2 4 22: 30	0	CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUGLIC PEAC AREA TOTAL PERSON	E	1 1	1 1 2	1	2		1 4	11	1 43	3 15 25	1 2 45 48 1	1 5 9 8 7 10 2	12 120 147	16 127 158	4	98 132 68	269 147 85
- 1	0 80 F 80 U 50.	MALE 66.722 FENALE 68.013 . BLOCKS 7,607	14 108 76 207	88	26 12 89 76 68 14 95 90	5 10	5 119	26 6 64 428 559	58 51 115 2		38 2 38 1,26	3 3	03	.09 .02 .44 .46	.005 .35 .14 .505	.01	.04	6 6 6	51 4 73 10 11	202 59 270	483 652 23	-	12 15 170 223		CHASTITY FAMILY PHOPENTY PUBLIC PEAC AREA TOTAL PERSON	£ 2	3 6 3 16 3 20 4 1		13	2 2 3 4 5		1 1 5 10 4 16 6 4 6	28 76 112	26	9	28 1	2 7 3 1 6 2 1	1 17 61 88	200 35 40	328 132 479	15 313 1,115 1.643	20 686 1,384 2,322 72 68
	3 3 3 1 3 3 3 4 3 5 0	MALE 194,474 FEMALE 386,457 BLOCES 1.573	273	97	17 5 1 90 9 283 2 396 12	6 11 9 65 7 82	7 1 6 101 9 72 8 180	933	43 74 120	-	1.88 0 2.46	5 3	23 1 88 4	. 24	.01 .88 .51	.04 .00 .27 1.20	.20	1.1	31	3 198 119 326	898	125 69 198		_	CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUGLIC PEAC AREA TOTAL PENSOR CHASTITY					4 8 3 5 6 29 1 206 5 252	1 2 5	38 29 08 196 58 231	199 199 1,495 1,775	44	3 15 25	1 2 46 1 49 1	1 1 10 10 12 2 1 1	152 152 8 3	21 211 1,620 1,927	901	139	25 748 2.074 2,987 185 125 26 1.436
	BER I.	758.313 FEHALE .275.975), BLOCK 9,213	183	165 14	32 17 174 15 337 3 560 15	2	8 4 6 184 6 66	_	164 94	10 12 19 178 1	3 2	27	8 8 8 667 227 1		.01 .01 .52 .18	_		72 1.3			65 30 6 213 957 1,271	359		_	PENSON	16	5 1 15 7 10 40 52 50 2 1 3 2	63	-		0 1	15 3 41	95	5 5 26 2 35	-	28 1	2 2 3 6 7	20 67 99			15 328 1.132 1,685	2.663
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much in the same way as the respectable citizen is of his own environment. (43)

SPECIALIST IN CRIME

	INVESTIGATIO	N FOR COURT	
INDICTMENT NO. 198852	DATE FILED Jan. 4, 1934	INVESTIGATED 81	CASE NO. 11045
DEFENDANT Solomon, Isadore		IASES g Solomon	CO-DEFENDANTS None
OFFENSE Feloniously Failing to Appear as Request	:Feloniously Fai		
ed by a Bail Bond		; ;	: :
JUDGE Hon. Blank	:DISPOSITION :State Prison 3-	6 yrs.	:

PREVIOUS COURT RECORD

DATE	OFFENSE.	COURT	DISPOSITION
July 31, 1922	Assault	Magistrates' Court	Discharged
May 29,1924	Unlawful Entry	Special Sessions	Discharged
Jan. 22,1926	Vio. Sec. 37 U.S. Criminal Code	U.S.District Court	Discharged
Sept. 22, 1926	Vio. Sec. 37 U.S. Criminal Code	U.S.District Court	One Year & One Day Penitentiary (Dis. June 28, 1927)
July 26, 1931	Felonious Assault	Magistrates' Court	Discharged
Mar. 10,1932	Vio.Nat.Prohibition Act	U.S.District Court	Acquitted
Nov. 28, 1932	Robbery	Magistrates' Court	Discharged
Nov. 28, 1932	Unlawful Entry	Magistrates' Court	Discharged
Feb. 1, 1933	Homicide	Magistrates' Court	Discharged
Feb. 1,1933	Criminally Carrying Pistol After the Con- viction of a Crime	General Sessions	Pending

KINGSTON, N.Y.

Mar. 15, 1934 Perjury

Ulster County Grand Jury Pending

Abstract of Indictment

On October 17, 1933, the defendant failed to appear for trial in Part VI of this Court as required by a bail bond.

Offense

Detective Henry J. Fitzsimmons of the 5th Squad is the complainant.

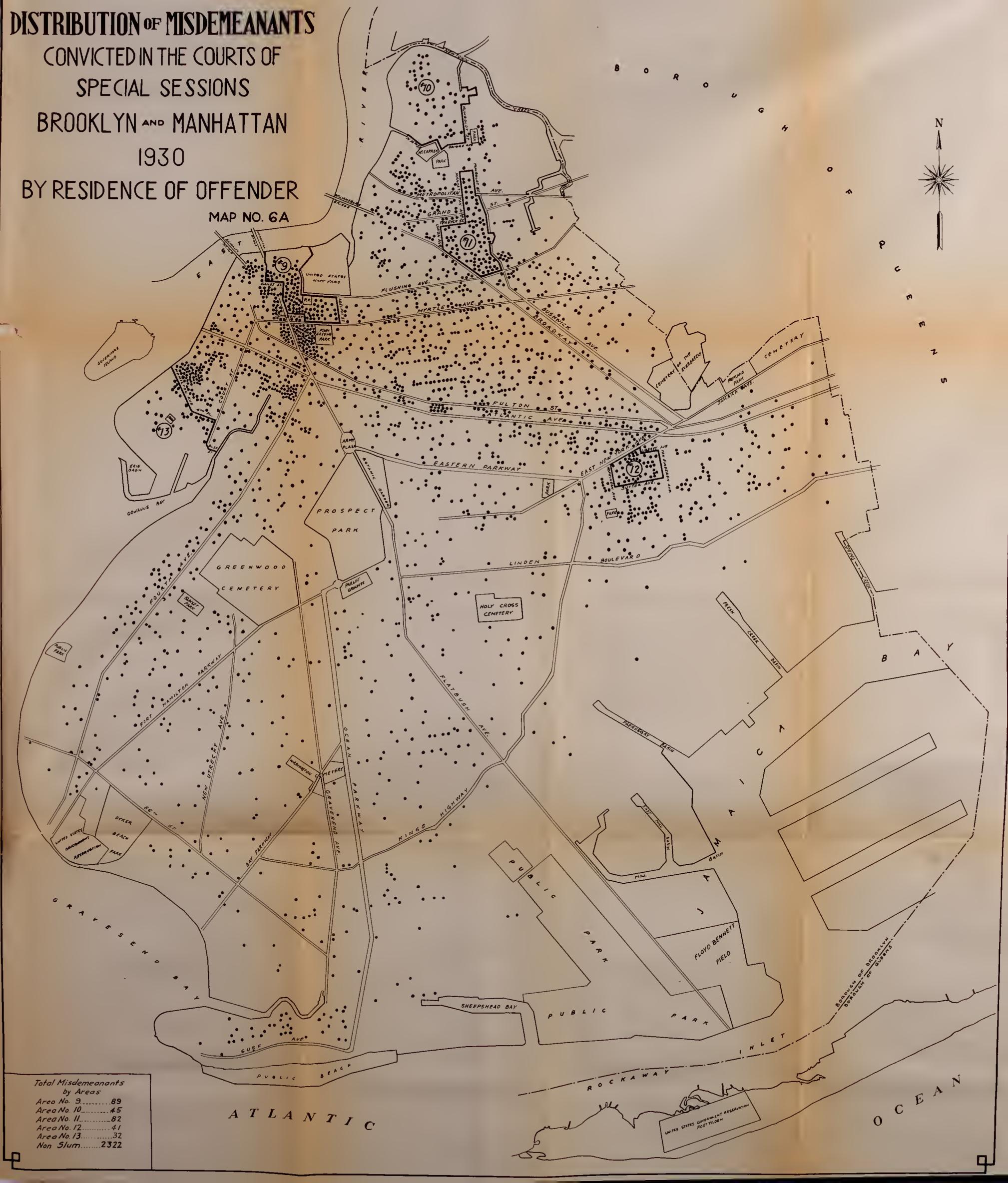
⁽⁴³⁾ John Landesco, "Original Crime in Chicago," Illinois Crime Survey, Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, Chicago, 1929. p. 1057.

On January 28, 1933, at about 11 P.M. in a restaurant on Mott Street, Detective Fitzsimmons, finding a fully loaded .38 calibre revolver in his possession, placed the defendant under arrest. At the time Solomon was dining with one Charles Arrola and one Salvatore Sorrento, in whose possession a fully loaded .38 calibre revolver was found. Sorrento also was arrested. In addition to being charged with Unlawfully Possessing the Weapons, both men were jointly charged with a Homicide then being investigated. They were cleared of the Homicide charge in the Magistrates' Court.

The charge of Unlawfully Possessing a Weapon which had been preferred against Sorrento also was dismissed when he produced a permit which he had obtained up state. Solomon was held in custody, however, and on the same day was arraigned in this Court, following his indictment for Criminally Carrying a Pistol after the Conviction of a Crime. Bail was fixed at \$25,000. He was released after a bond in that sum had been furnished by a Surety Company. Two days later Solomon pleaded "Not Guilty," his bail being continued.

The defendant first came up for trial on this charge about a year ago. Three adjournments were granted. When for the fourth time, the case was called, the defendant failed to appear. The Court thereupon declared his bail forfeited and issued a Bench Warrant for his arrest. Seventy-three days later, the defendant surrendered himself at the District Attorney's Office.

Mitigating and Aggravating Circumstances: The defendant denies that he wilfully failed to appear when his case was called for trial in October of 1933, claiming that his counsel had failed to notify him to be in court





on that date, although the newspapers published the details of his bail forfeiture and the issuance of a warrant. Solomon claims that he did not read the newspapers nor were the press accounts brought to his attention by his intimate acquaintances or relatives.

As Assistant District Attorneys Botein and Mendelsohn point out, however, it is significant that despite Solomon's insistence that he was not in hiding, some of his intimate acquaintances including the owner of a well known restaurant which he patronized daily, testified at the defendant's trial that they were unable to recall having seen him subsequent to October of 1933.

Sixteen days before the defendant's bail was forfeited, he and his wife, using a fictitious name, leased
an apartment on West 86th Street where his wife still resides. That the defendant was under medical care was attested to at his trial by two physicians. One physician
admitted, however, that he kept no record of the defendant's visits. The other testified that he operated on the
defendant in January of 1934, which was subsequent to
Solomon's surrender at the District Attorney's office.

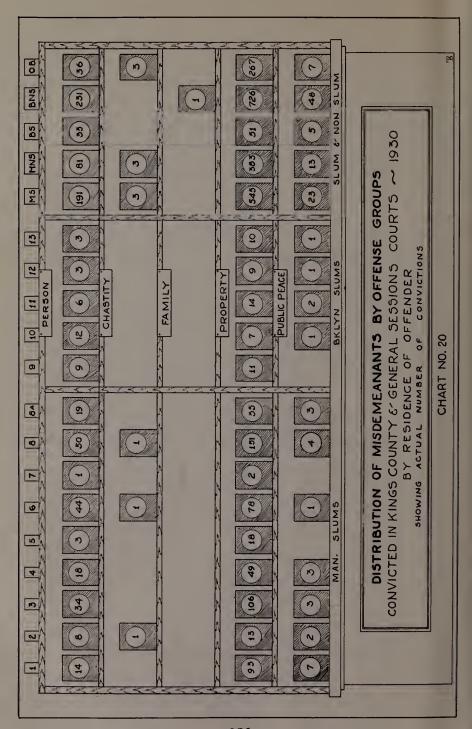
The defendant contends that on the advice of his physician, he left his married sister's home in November of 1933 and went upstate in order to rest and get strength before undergoing the aforementioned operation. A month later, he returned to this city to join his wife and relatives for the Christmas holidays. He avers that it was not until then that he learned from his brother that his bail had been forfeited and that he was being sought by the police. The bond furnished by the Surety Company was not secured by any collateral. It was authorized by the President of the Company, after Sorrent had verbally as-

sured him that he, Sorrento, would personally guarantee the bond. The Company's President was then in Miami, Fla., with one Harry ("Sonny") Freeman who also was connected with the company and who had known both Solomon and Sorrento for more than twenty-five years. After the defendant had disappeared and his bail had been forfeited, Sorrento and his wife reimbursed the Surety Company for that bond.

The indictment charging the defendant with Criminally Carrying a Pistol after the conviction of a Crime is still pending. The arresting officer states that when he arrested Solomon for possessing the revolver, the defendant, at that time, had no permit for its possession nor did he mention that he had ever had one. After his arrest, however, he produced a permit which had been issued to him by an upstate court but which had expired during 1932. He also produced what purported to be proof that he had made application for the renewal of the permit before it expired. An investigation by Judge Dodge's assistants disclosed that the application had not been filed until after his arrest for possession of the revolver. The permit had been obtained, after he had sworn to the statement on the application blank that he had never been arrested before. The fact that he had been convicted of Unlawfully Selling Drugs in this city during 1926, later came to the attention of the upstate authorities. They have informed us that a Perjury Charge is now pending against Solomon. In the event an indictment is returned a warrant will be filed against him.

II. ANALYSIS OF ENVIRONMENT

Personal History: Although the defendant and his parents contend that he was born in this city in April of 1904, thus making him approximately 30 years old, this



Department has reason to believe that he was born in Russia and that he is not a citizen. The belief is founded upon the fact that the Board of Health has no record of his birth and that in at least two instances he gave "Russia" as his place of birth when arrested in this city during recent years.

He apparently came from Russia with his parents during 1917, and has since resided here. From the Criminal Alien Squad, we are awaiting information as to whether he is subject to deportation.

Education and Early Life: The defendant had completed the 7A grade when he was discharged from Public School 114, Manhattan, because he was over 16 years of age. According to the school records, Solomon was enrolled at Public School 114 during 1917 and "April 17, 1906" was given as his date of birth. His birthplace was not indicated. The year of his bi th was later changed to "1905." according to a notation on the records, after a "passport" had been shown.

Our belief that he was not born in this country is further strengthened by the fact that immediately after Solomon entered Public School 114, he was placed in a special class for foreign-born children hampered by language difficulties. His record for conduct, studies and attendance was satisfactory and following his discharge from school he secured employment. Apparently he was in his twelfth year when he entered Public School 114. There is nothing in the records there to show that he had previously attended any other school in this city or in this country.

Solomon is the offspring of apparently industrious and respectable parents who came from Russia. Upon migrating to this city they settled in a congested tenement

DISTRIBUTION OF MISDEMEANANTS

CONVICTED IN KINGS COUNTY & GENERAL SESSIONS COURTS 1930
BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER ~ AGE GROUPS & SEX.

ACTUAL NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS REPRESENTED. Scale: I=I MALE - FEMALE || || || ||

	R OF CONVICTIONS		: I=I MALE	
AREA	16 ~ 20	21 ~ 25	26~35	OVER 35
,	10 20 30 40 50	10 20 30 40 50	10 20 30 40 50	10 20 30 40 50
2 3	_	_	-	•
1				
5		_		
6				_
7 8	111	•	•	•
84	_			
10	-	-	_	_
11	_	-	<u>-</u>	•
13	_	_	•	_
MAN. SLUM				
MAN NON SLUM				
B'KLYN SLUM				
BKLYN NON SLUM				
0.B. & O.T.				

CHART No.22

district on the lower East Side. There, during his formative years, Solomon came into contact with harmful neighborhood influences.

In the absence of more wholesome recreation, he loitered on street corners and frequented poolrooms with hood-lums of his own age, whose behavior patterns he ultimately adopted. To inadequate parental supervision and to the demoralizing associations which he formed during his early years, the defendant's subsequent anti-social conduct is attributable in a large measure.

Family and Neighborhood: The defendant is the second of four children. His aged parents occupy a four room apartment at Avenue Alpha, Brooklyn, with two sons upon whom they are mainly dependent for support.

Until senility unfitted him for work, Solomon was a baker. He and his wife claim that they came to this country from Russia 40 years ago. As mentioned previously, we have reason to believe that this is untrue. The father is not a citizen. The mother characterizes the defendant as a model son, who has no bad habits and who has always contributed generously toward the support of his parents. Aside from the defendant, the members of the family bear excellent reputations.

Seven years ago the defendant married. He has no children. When arrested during January of 1933, he and his wife were living in a hotel on West_____Street where they were known as Mr. and Mrs. Morris Morris. They paid a monthly rental of \$150. for two rooms and a kitchenette which they had occupied for about ten months. They were regarded as quiet and respectable tenants.

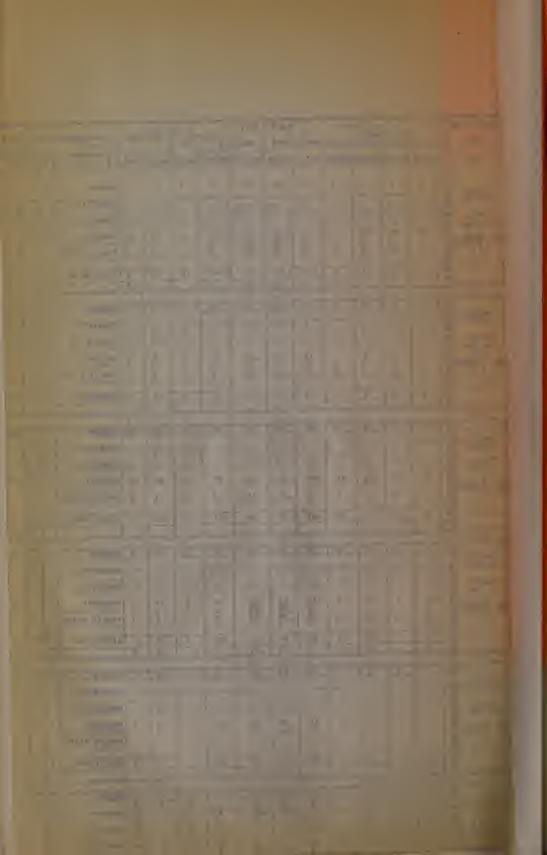
By his wife Solomon is described as a devoted husband. She avers that not only has he always provided her with

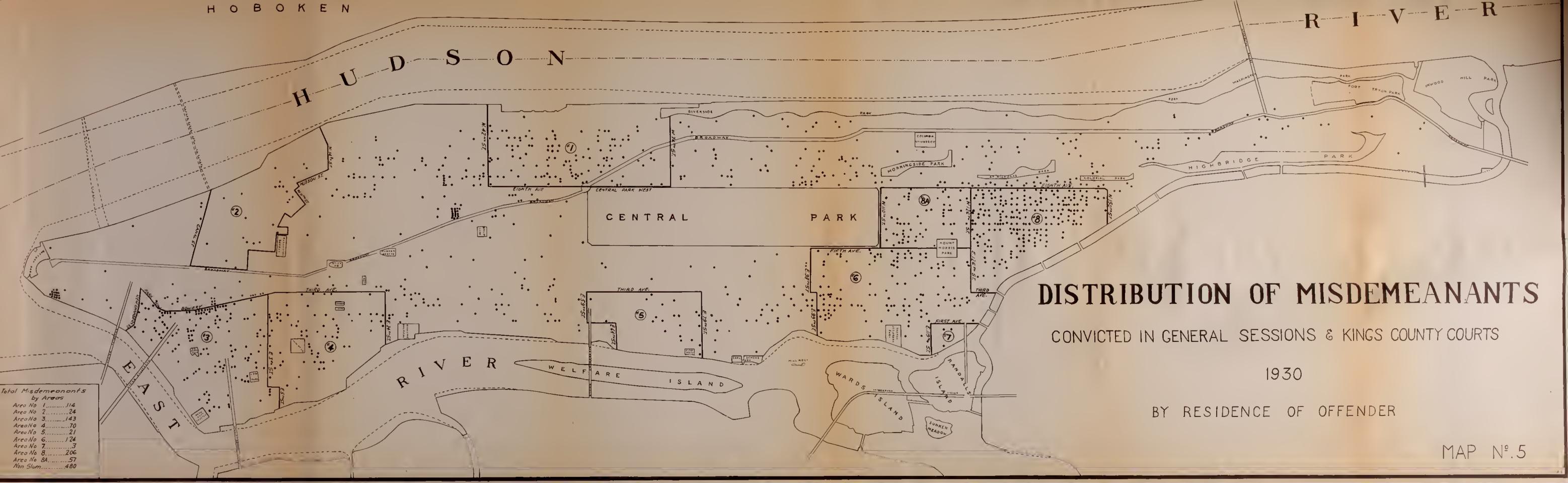
TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF MISDEMEANANTS

CONVICTED IN GENERAL SESSIONS AND KINGS COUNTY COURTS - 1930

	FFFMSE. SEX, AGE. COLOR, AMD NATIVETT
S POPULATION S AGE GROUPS TOTAL PER PER COLOR HARIVITY OFFERSES HARMATTAN HAR BROOKLTR BETH RUN SLUM TOTAL SLU	A POPULATION R AGE GROUPS TOTAL PER PER 1,000 34.8k. WHITE BLACK U.S. FOR. ABAINST 1 2 3 8 5 6 7 8 8A TOTAL 9 10 11 12 13 1074L 107AL MAE RETR
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every comfort but that he has also given large sums for the support of her parents and other relatives. She further relates that although his income was large, she knew nothing of its source, nor did he ever tell her.

Industrial History: The defendant has been incarcerated in the City Prison since he was convicted on March 14th, 1934.

Although he admits that he has not been legitimately employed since 1926, we have good reason to believe, that he has never been steadily employed since he left school thirteen years ago. When questioned as to his means of livelihood during the recent years he admitted that, until the advent of Repeal, he had been a bootlegger. Immediately, however, he retracted his statement, suggesting that the investigator classify him as a "bookmaker," who transacted business at race tracks during the Summer and at various addresses in the City during the Winter. As a bookmaker he claimed his earnings averaged "about \$200." weekly. It then occured to him that he would be open to charges of failing to pay his income tax, so he requested the investigator to erase the statement about his earnings.

Solomon claims that his first job after leaving school was as a clerk and order filler for a wholesale confectioner on Forsythe Street, in Manhattan. Although he alleged that he had been employed steadily there for seven years his former employer stated that Solomon only had worked for him for two years as a wagon helper. The defendant's services had been satisfactory and he had received a wage of \$14.00 a week when he resigned. This employer admitted, however, that he kept no record of the defendant's employment and that he was relying on his memory as to dates. Solomon avers, that after the above employment, he worked

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for about three years as a store clerk for a clothier on Division Street. The clothier verified the defendant's statement, but likewise was unable to produce any records. He believed that the defendant was in his employ from 1920 to 1925. This, however, could not be possible as Solomon was attending school for one year of this period and was supposed to have been working as a wagon helper during the subsequent period. The clothier was certain, however, that Solomon was sporadically employed for at least three years and recalled having discharged Solomon because he had struck a fellow employee during an argument.

It is apparent from the above that Solomon's employment record is negligible. Since his youth he has been living luxuriously on funds obtained through crime and racketeering. His industrial maladjustment obviously is attributable to indolent and anti-social tendencies and to his desire to enjoy the comforts of life without the necessity of labor.

III. ANALYSIS OF PERSONALITY

Physical and Mental: A report as to the defendant's examination has not yet been submitted by the Psychiatric Clinic of this court. He contends that he is in poor health, not yet having fully recovered from the effects of an operation which he underwent two months ago. He appears to be of average intelligence.

Character and Conduct: Solomon is an alert, affable and seemingly inoffensive individual whose general appearance and manner belie his true character. There is nothing in his appearance to distinguish him from the average citizen who leads an honest and uneventful life. According to police officers who have known him for years, Solomon, however, is an anti-social and at times vicious person.

& KINGS COUNTY COURTS

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER.

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84

MAN SLUM GNON SLUM PER 1,000 POR

.28

JAN NS

BK. SLUM & NONSLUM PER 1,000 POP.

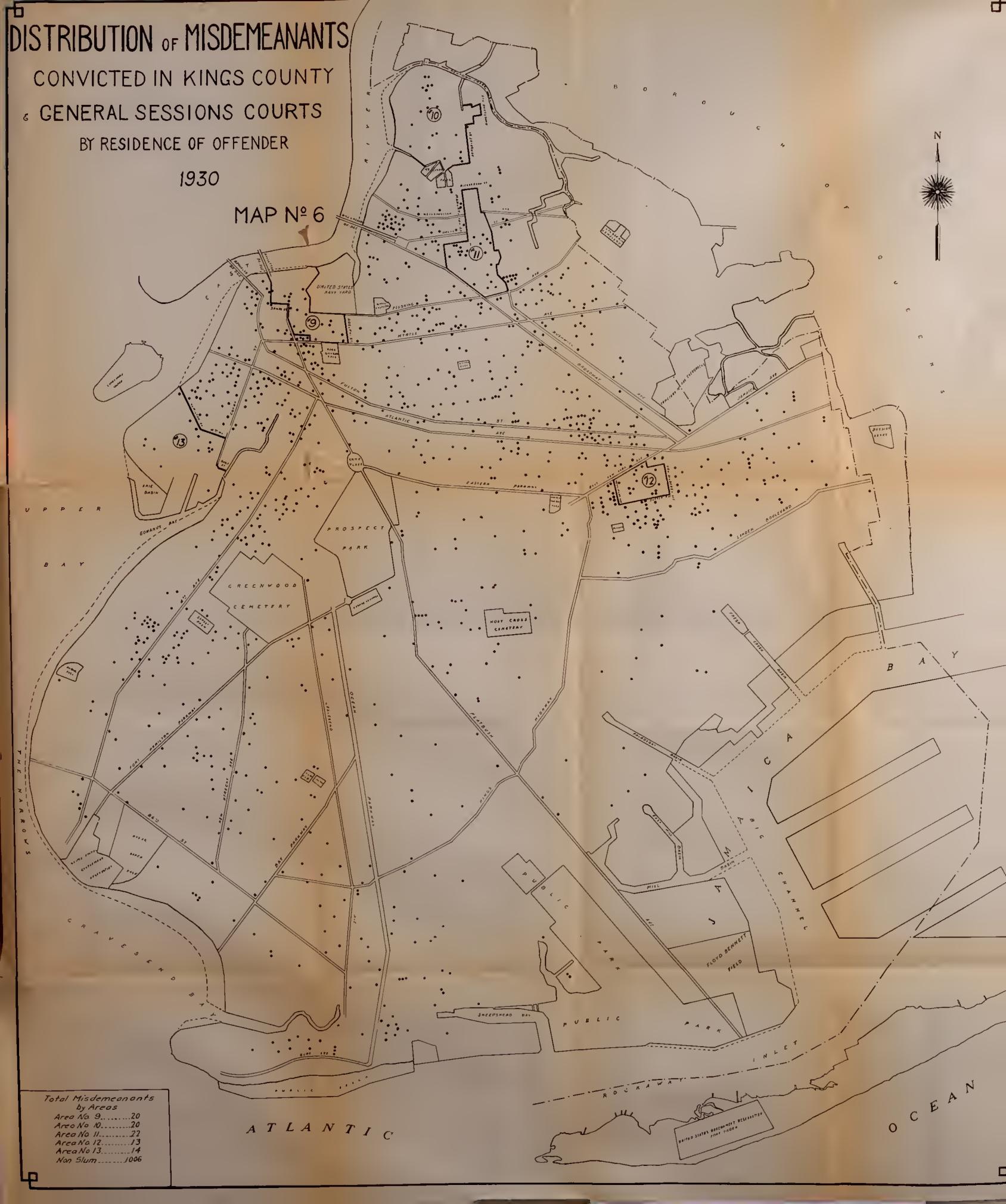
27.

BK S.

AREA 1 TO 13 ACTUAL NUMBER MANG BK. S.G.N.S. PER 1,000 POP.

CHART No. 23

144





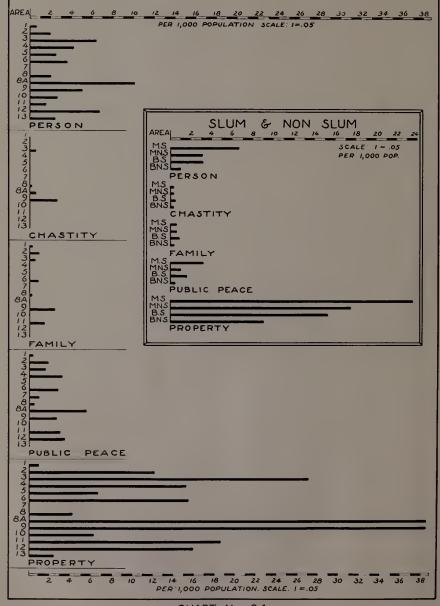
During recent years he has been intimately associated with some of the most notorious racketeers and gangsters that have come to the attention of the police of this city. As a youth Solomon was known to the police of his neighborhood as a "cheap crook" and hoodlum. Quick to use his fists in order to settle grievances he loitered on street corners in the vicinity of Grand and Forsythe Streets with drug peddlers and similar characters. He was first arrested in his eighteenth year, charged with striking a youth over the head with a "nine-pin" in a gymnasium of the Henry Street Settlement House. Solomon contended that the nine-pin had fallen and struck his comrade from above. Owing to insufficient evidence he was discharged in the Magistrates' Court.

Solomon had become an active member of a neighborhood gang and apparently was not steadily employed when, during 1924, he was arrested on the complaint of a housewife that she had caught him picking the lock on the door to her apartment. He was alleged to have been with another youth, who escaped. The evidence again was considered insufficient and he was discharged in the Court of Special Sessions.

It was at about this period that the defendant became associated with Salvatore Sorrento who is about ten years his senior and who, at the time of his first meeting with Solomon, was a known drug peddler. Although Solomon as a youth was definitely developing gangster traits, he was still somewhat naive and easily influenced by older and more experienced persons of criminal tendencies. Consequently as the Police state, the defendant was often used as a "catspaw" by drug peddlers and gangsters who evaded arrest by persuading Solomon to keep in his possession drugs or weapons or other evidence that might incriminate them.

DISTRIBUTION OF FELONS

CONVICTED IN GENERAL SESSIONS & KINGS COUNTY COURTS-1930
BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER & TYPE OF OFFENSE



Not until after meeting him did Solomon apparently become a drug peddler for Sorrento who, according to our informants, used the defendant to do the actual selling while retaining the greater part of the proceeds. On January 22, 1926, Solomon was arraigned in the U.S. District Court of this city for a Violation of the Harrison Act, involving drug peddling. The evidence was not conclusive and he was discharged.

Four months later, police officers and Federal Agents spent several days and considerable sums of marked money endeavoring to obtain evidence against Sorrento. The latter was then regarded as the head of a group of drug peddlers who made their headquarters in a fraternal club on Forsythe Street. Several purchases of heroin and other narcotics were made from Solomon. Although Sorrento was nearby when the sales were made, he did not leave himself open to arrest. The officers having finally despaired of obtaining conclusive evidence against Sorrento arrested Solomon and also confiscated large quantities of narcotics when they raided the premises.

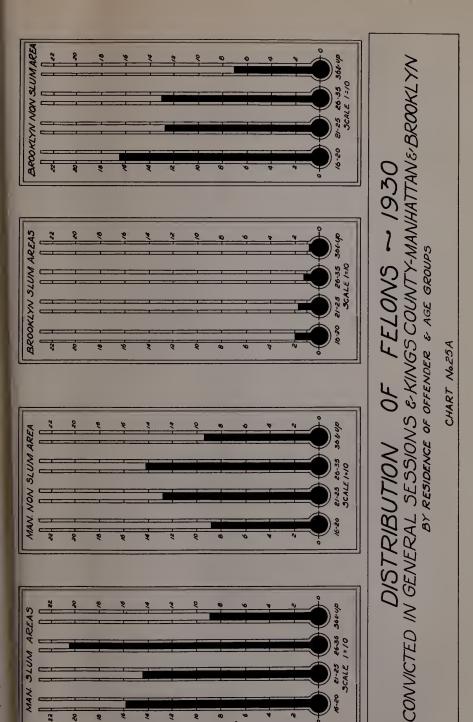
In the U.S. District Court, Solomon was convicted of violating the Harrison Act and was committed to the U.S. Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., for a year and a day. Discharged on June 28, 1927 he immediately returned to this city and, according to the police, resumed his association with Sorrento in the latter's drug peddling activities. Apparently because Sorrento was grateful to him for having taken the "rap," he made Solomon his partner.

So began both a partnership and a friendship between two criminals which has never wavered and which the police describe as "unusual." From petty traffickers in narcotics on the lower East Side, the firm of Solomon and Sorrento

became active members of an international syndicate of drug peddlers and important members of groups specializing in bootlegging, hijacking and other lucrative rackets. Having come into the "big money," the defendant and Sorrento moved from the squalid tenements of Forsythe Street to luxurious apartments in the West Seventies. Although Solomon has never been known to indulge in any excessive habits, he has, frequented popular resorts in the White Light Districts.

As underworld leaders, Solomon and Sorrento have been intimately associated during recent years with such notorious gangsters and killers as Jack ("Legs") Diamond, Vincent Coll, "Dutch" Schultz, and Vannie Higgins. Both were held for questioning when Higgins was killed in Brooklyn a year or so ago. We are told by Federal Officers that about that time both Solomon and Sorrento were associated with Higgins as rum runners.

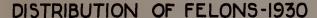
Both also were taken into custody when Jack ("Legs") Diamond was slain in Albany last year. Although the evidence was not sufficient to connect them with the murder, it was rumored that Diamond was slain at the instance of Solomon and Sorrento because he had "double crossed" them in a narcotic deal. According to the story told at the time Sorrento had borrowed \$200,000 which he gave to Diamond in order to go to Germany to purchase narcotics, later to be smuggled into this country. Diamond was refused entry into Germany or any other country in Europe. It is alleged that when he returned to the United States he refused to return the \$200,000 to Sorrento. It has been said also that both Solomon and Sorrento at one time had acted as "torpedo men" but this is doubted by Police Officers who have known them for years.



By some Police Officers, Solomon is characterized as a sly, shrewd and vicious person who would have no hesitancy in killing anyone who incurred his ill-will. Other Police Officers, however, are of the opinion that while he would not be averse to acting as "master of ceremonies" at the killing of an enemy, they doubt that it has been necessary for him, at least during recent years, to soil his hands in matters of this kind.

On July 26th, 1931, the defendant, together with Sorrento and the latter's brother Giacomo were arrested under assumed names with eleven others for Felonious Assault but were discharged in the Magistrates' Court at Coney Island. The gang had been intercepted while transporting bootleg liquor from a yacht to a pier at Gerritsen Beach. During the seizure of the contraband liquor numerous shots were exchanged between the gang and the Police and it was upon this shooting that the Felonious Assault Charge was predicated. Some 168 cases of liquor, together with an automobile truck and two passenger automobiles were confiscated by Federal Officers who took Solomon and the others into custody after they had been discharged in the Magistrates' Court. Although it does not appear in the Police Records or those at Washington, our investigation reveals that as a result of the aforementioned seizure, the defendant as Morris Grossman and Sorrento as Frank Martin. were, along with their henchmen, indicted in the U.S. District Court of Brooklyn for Violation of the National Prohibition Act but were acquitted on March 10th, 1932.

It was immediately after this acquittal that Solomon and Sorrento were invited to assist in the search for a kidnapped child. Both had been invited because of their prominence as underworld characters. Both, it appears,



CONVICTED IN GENERAL SESSIONS & KINGS C'TY CTS. MANHATTAN & BROOKLYN

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER & SEX

MANHATTAN SLUM AREAS



















BROOKLYN

SLUM AREAS





















CHART NO. 25 B

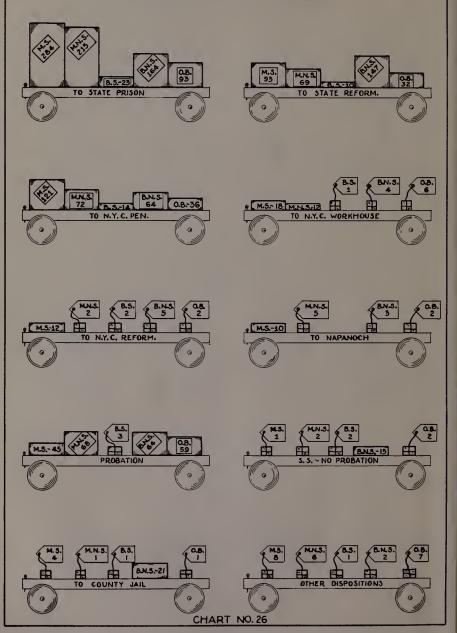
FEMALE :

DISPOSITION OF FELONS

CONVICTED IN GENERAL SESSIONS & KINGS COUNTY COURTS ~ 1930

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER

REPRESENTED BY ACTUAL NUMBER



made strenuous efforts at their own expense to find some clew as to the whereabouts of the child. On November 28, 1932, the defendant was arrested in Brooklyn for Robbery but was discharged in the Magistrates' Court. He and another were accused of having stolen \$4,000. from a business man at the point of revolvers. On the same day a charge of Unlawful Entry against Solomon was discharged in the First District Magistrates' Court of Brooklyn.

A detective, who is familiar with the case, states that in that instance Solomon was arrested while looking through a telescope from a window in a vacant apartment not far from the Raymond Street Jail. Despite his claim that he used the telescope at race tracks, he neither was able to explain his presence in the vacant apartment, nor why the telescope was pointed toward the jail.

In addition to apparently having made large sums as bootleggers, hijackers, narcotic peddlers and racketeers, Solomon and Sorrento are said to own several horses which run at local and other race tracks. The detective agency which patrols the race tracks is unable to furnish specific information in this regard. It was stated, however, that Solomon and Sorrento are well known figures at race tracks and that Sorrento has been put off the field.

An analysis of the defendant's life reveals him as a shrewd, pugnacious and anti-social individual who is apparently devoid of any sense of moral values and who since an early age has resorted to crime as a means of livelihood.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Recreation in the Slums

The present study would be incomplete without some reference to recreation. As a socially educative force, no less than as a natural need, it requires no description. The spread of the play movement, particularly during recent years, is evidence enough of the new outlook on spare time activities. Increasingly is it recognized, in fact, that organized play is a powerful antidote for mischievous and even delinquent behavior.

Between the misuse of leisure time and delinquency there is often a straight line relationship. Nowhere does this so frequently hold true as in the slums. There the street is the principal playground. Opportunities for wholesome recreation are notoriously limited. More often than otherwise, the play life of a child is unsupervised. Small wonder then, that recreation and delinquency in slum neighborhoods are closely allied.

In an endeavor to obtain an actual picture of the recreational situation, the substandard areas were canvassed by a corps of field workers. The results of this social recording have been embodied in the base maps which accompany the present report. A word about the salient findings will serve, however, to affix in the reader's mind the seriousness of the situation. It should serve also to emphasize the imperative necessity of including provision for suitable recreational facilities in any plan for the reconstruction of blighted areas.

Playground Inadequacy. The best evidence of playground inadequacy in the slums is the startling number of children playing in the streets. A count was taken of such children in the substandard areas on April 5th, 1934. As

TABLE XV DISPOSITION OF FELONS CONVICTED IN KINGS COUNTY AND GENERAL SESSIONS COURTS - 1930 BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER

						β¥	RESIL	ENCE	OF OF	BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER											
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STATE REFORMATORY	6	2	31	11	2	10		25	3	93	2	1	w	Ħ	10	103	69	147	216	32	351
NEW YORK CITY PENITENTIARY	12	7	19	17	3	20		59	17	121	4		4	2	11	135	72	64	136	36	307
NEW YORK CITY WORKHOUSE	3	1	2	3		1	1	9	-	18						19	12	4	16	g	41
NEW YORK CITY REFORMATORY	6		1					1	7	12			н		2	11	2	ις.	7	2	23
МАРАНОСН			3	2		3			2	10						10	5	3	80	2	20
PROBATION	9	2	15	80	1	5		9	2	45	2		٦		~	48	89	64	132	59	239
SUSPENDED SENTENCE MITHOUT PROBATION			1							1			2		2	<i>w</i>	2	15	17	2	22
COUNTY JAIL			3			1				4			-		-	2	1	21	22	=	28
OTHER DISPOSITIONS						2		1	-	ω				-		თ	φ	2	œ	7	24
TOTAL	11	18	112	52	11	82	-	159	84	969	21	7	18	9 2	57	653	452	489	941	240	1,834

this was a school holiday, when the weather also was eonducive to outdoor play, it is believed that the eheck-up fairly represents the problem of street play.

In the fourteen areas under consideration, 61,720 children were tabulated. The majority appeared to average from nine to fifteen years of age. Of the 61,720 counted, 55,919 were on the streets and 5,801 in playgrounds. Many were observed to be loitering and to be taking no active interest in the street games. Others were engaged in such mischievous activities as throwing sticks under passing automobiles and starting bonfires, often dangerously near to buildings. Shooting Craps and playing "cops and robbers" were conspicuous among the varied play habits observed. Most of the children, however, were engrossed in playing handball, tag and other innocuous games. The number found in the streets and playgrounds of each area are shown in the annexed table.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN ON STREETS AND IN PLAYGROUNDS APRIL 5th, 1934

AREA	ON STREET	PLAY GROUND	TOTAL
1	3,672	408	4,080
2	2,205	158	2,363
3	8,756	889	9,645
4	4,063	450	4,513
5	3,492	68	3,560
6	8,059	296	8,355
7	280	32	312
8	9,668	1,234	10,902
8.8	5,297	419	5,716
MAN	45,492	3,954	49,446

AREA	ON STREET	PLAY GROUND	TOTAL
9	1,916	188	2,104
10	2,626	404	3.030
11	3.043	750	3.793
12	918	142	1,060
13	1,924	363	2,287
8K N	10,427	1.847	12,274
MAN	45,492	3,954	49,446
GRAND TOTAL	55,919	5,801	61,720

Apart from their insufficient number, playgrounds in the substandard areas are poorly situated and, on the whole,



TABLE XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF

FELONS CONVICTED IN GENERAL SESSIONS AND XIAGS COUNTY COURTS + 1930

BT RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER, PLACE OF OFFENSE, SEA, AGE, COLOR AND NATIVITY POPULATION ARE SECUPE COBVICTIONS COMPICTIONS COLOR ##TF#IT1 STUM AREAS 16-20 21-25 2P-35 PP-UP OFFERBE HAT HOR. BLUM A RET HAD RED 0168 3014L PRR 1,000 FRR 80. 8P. MESTS BLACK FQB. V. S. наничтван зериз SHOOFLIF SLUNG JOIAL AGAI VEL B 10 1 F 12 FR 10 TAL H B BA TOBBL 12 26 PERSON CHANILI FAMILI PPOPERIF PUBLIC PEACE 10 .04 .23 .21 02 42 07 15. 5 } 22 024 01 10. ELOC4 20 78 78 .024 61 0.1 ARRA 3034L PERSON CM481|3T FAMIL1 PROPERIT PUBLIC PRACE 092 012 21,875 FZHALB 18,185 045 595 092 13 11 eg. BLOCKS 16 825 000 ABEA TOTAL 10 19 H4L8 P2, 843 FEMBLE 53, 877 PRRECH CHARTITY FAMILT PROPRPIS PUBLIC PEACE 19 2 2 84 83 13 22 30 004 18 13 29 35 EQ. BLOCKS 1 1.78 . 453 004 APEA TOTAL MACE #5,#23 FEMALE #2,765 PERSON CHARFITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE 008 742 152 .274 14 21 34 13 13 13 EQ. BLOCKS 31 1 2,11 .411 009 AREA FOTAL 22 HALE 24,324 FEHALE 25,278 .123 .043 PERSON CHASTOTY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE 2 330 115 453 .000 10 10 AREA TOTAL 195 86,674 FEHALE 81,325 .045 .765 .133 .015 .268 .047 22 .033 110 190 BLOCKS 19 .098 15 1 6 1,140 .394 032 49 AREA TOTAL PERSON CHARTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE 093 sq. elecis .092 .000 .000 0 AREA TOTAL PERSON CHASTITT FANILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE NALE 46,573 FEHALE 49,122 041 11 40 45 2.13 2.13 85 7 59 38 5 30 99 30 ? 1 070 93 03 69 104 PER 194 70 1 40 0 64 2 22 10 156 3 3, 35 .051 11.47 .03 13 0 143 134 AREA TOTAL 118 1 119 139 PERSON CHASSITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE RALE .321 .019 .59 074 037 19 29,648 FEHALE 24,958 .67 16 14 19 55 8 .037 020 37 35 5 12 29 29 27 56 8 \$9. BLOCKS 53 27 1 1 21 01 10 3 2.75 .111 .520 957 25 53 AREA TOTAL 84 PERSON
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FAMILY
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PUBLIC PEACE 54 5 12 352 19 003 001 54 87 239 8 9 249 13 17 10 19, 160649 1,801 4 125 431 21 1.100 359 17 318 11 113 268 AREA TOTAL 23 5 14 19 013 14 11 109 5 215 303 36 452 PERSON
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FAMILT
PROPERTY
PUBLIC PEACE 012 10 11 SQ. BLOCKS 5 1 2,480 1.143 .233 012 14 AREA TOTAL e 76 PERSON CHASTATT FAMBLY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE MALE 15,841 PENALE 14,217 .D14 5 .316 .034 2 13 50. BLOCKS 442 810. 000 AREA TOTAL RLLE 14,128 FIMALE 15,579 PERSON CHAUTITY FAMILT PROPERTY 010 133 020 010 23 PUBLIC PEACE 10. Hrocks .173 010 17 1 1.707 AREA TOTAL MALE 5,945 FERALE 5,792 045 PERSON CHASTIST FAHILT PROPERTY 12 023 .839 PUBLIC PEACE 10. BLOCKS . 343 182 023 AREA TOTAL 2 PERSON CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PERCE HALE 9,012 FEMALE 5,797 008 111 800. 311 59. GLOCAS AREA TOTAL 272 .016 PENSON CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE .016 .002 MALE 57,015 FEMALE .15 .02 .04 TOTAL 40,340 39 . 74 . 04 043 009 1004 50. BLOCES AREA TOTAL 3 1.03 .065 109 14 17 25 PERRON CHASTITT FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE HALE 866,722 FEMALE 888,012 40 11 16 386 19 .005 .001 .002 .051 45 11 21 393 19 11 14 3 72 3 86.0. 8. 100. 39 1 113 315 16 23 23 97 2 23 TOR -147 2 50. BLOCES 7, 407 477 12 0139 062 440 12 37 AREA TOTAL 1 224 .549 29 11 14 | 53 | 111 323 489 PERSON CHASTITY FROPERTY PUBLIC PERCE 2 78 3 1 115 8 127 079 004 008 276 74 3 4 149 21 HES BER, S L U 53 8 264 34 HALE 399,476 FEHALE 366,957 40 12 99 135 1 7 2 194 26 3 5 375 39 17 135 55 .005 .001 19 6 19 33 143 40 5 60 26 12 3 194 31 4 25 \$9. \$10CHS AREA TOTAL 2 44 1 115 42 535 18 1.50 .049 473 12 152 30 9 37 46 331 10 2 0 1 1 19 350 251 175 3 152 402 .011 384 6 751 10 4 211 92 .084 .015 .021 .372 .030 81 1 14 23 6 650:22 31 PERSON CHASTIST FAMILT PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE 105 16 27 721 38 MALE 1,350,313 FFMALE 1,275,975 32 10 16 283 16 7 [9 6 8 3 209 9 25 2 4 71 7 002 000 20 13 336 11 TOTAL 11 19 563 18 158 34 1 14 5 103 13 .005 100: 30 10 107 8 2 2 BLUH 219 4 10. BLOCKS 25 10 27 27 3 11 1 27 11 AREA TOTAL 199 29 109 138 13 8 3 5 1 30 168 111 098 .003 941 6 257 13 157 245 7 249 026 17 3 8 186 1+ PERSON CHASTATY PAHILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PRACE 19 3 9 195 4 1 4 39 3 1 3 21 #ESIDERTS
OF
MARKETTAR
AND
erocelyr 1 5 40 134 7 139 11 12 5 43 14 16 \$ 32 158 AREA TOTAL 5 4 10 8 1 10 101 50 726 12 211 12 4 2 34 1160 240 9 6 37 15 7 15 7 36 29 5 1,037 30 305 11 60 23 92 5 64 3 250 13 9 4 25 3 25 3 13 2 47 9 189 16 197 51 1,342 41 44 27 107 PERIOR CHASTITY FAMILY PROPERTY PUBLIC PEACE 149 20 39 108 76 43-12 4 1 3 87-36 17-4 89 6 25 670 35 # 15 1 69 0 1 9 1 367 20 122 1 8 9 30 369 3 49 1 15 40 54 2 5 5 4 2 0 47 8 68410 1 1 394 14 339 46 A TOTAL

394 43 377 14 1,341 47 450 1

454 11 558 25 300 15 1,771 05

459 11

9 9

55

157

519 27

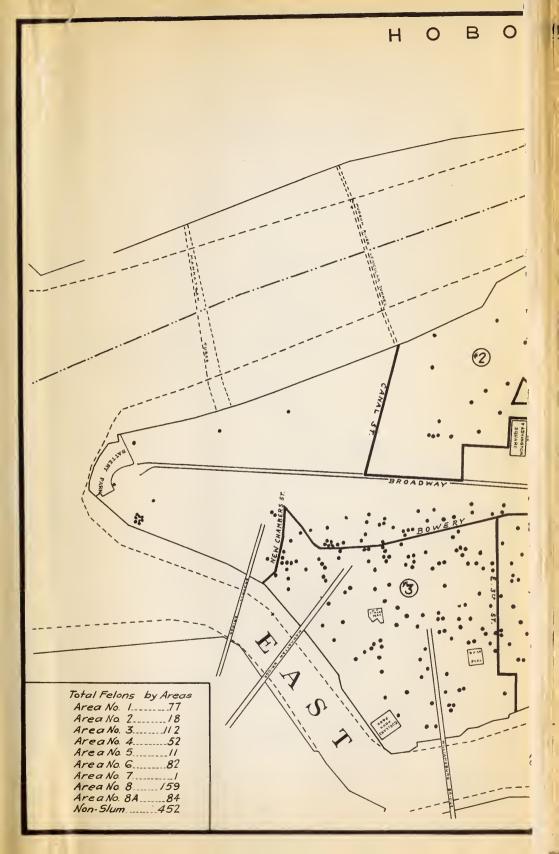
60 23 69 81 11 65

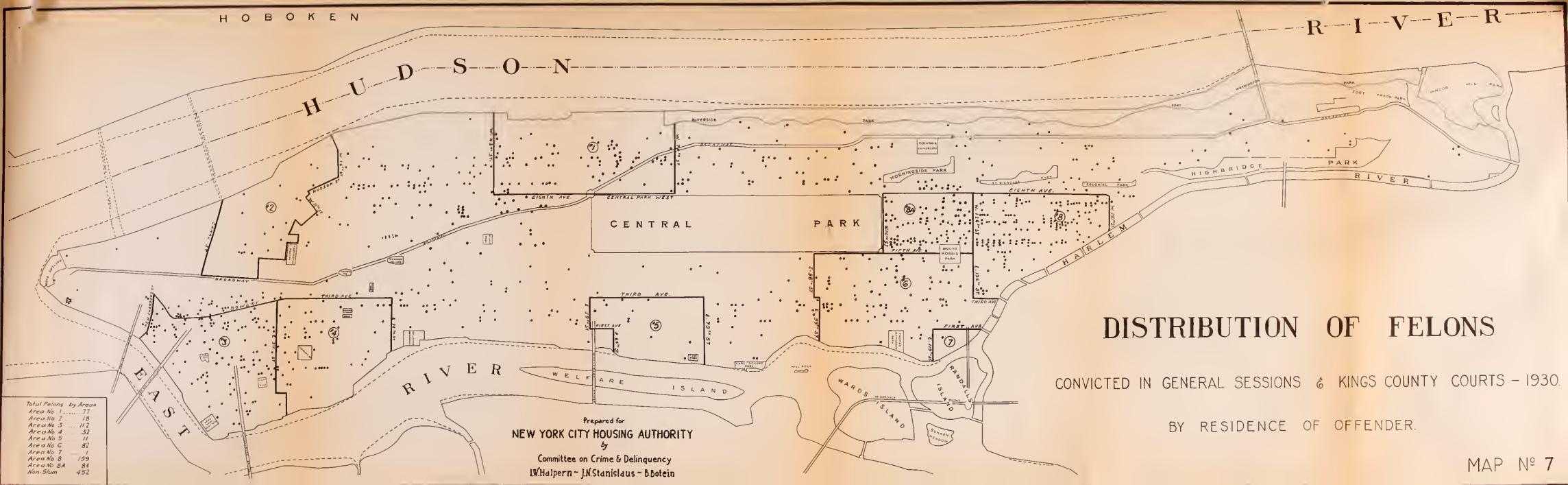
AREA TOTAL

53 572 825

437 1,634









inadequately equipped. Few measure up to accepted standards of size, equipment and relative remoteness from dangerous traffic arteries and crossings. From the standpoint of delinquency prevention, they are also deficient. Notably in their failure to attract children who stand in greatest need of wholesome play life.

There is no better summary of the playground situation than that contained in the report of the New York State Crime Commission for 1930. As it embodies practical recommendations which are timely in connection with the proposed rehabilitation of slum areas, the summary is here quoted in full:

"If city playgrounds are ever to be a factor in delinquency prevention, it is clear that they must be modified in a great many respects. They must be placed within areas of great juvenile delinquency; they must be located centrally within these areas so that no traffic or other obstacles to child mobility will interfere with their drawing power in all four directions. Special facilities must be created for boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen. With boys of these ages, it seems clear that an approach in terms of the small group such as has been successfully used by settlements and 'Boys Clubs,' will have to be applied on playgrounds if this group is to be reached. The extension of athletic fields for this age group is probably a necessity.

"Very little individual, or club group work, will be accomplished with normal children, not to mention problem children and troublesome gangs, unless the playground personnel is of a superior type.

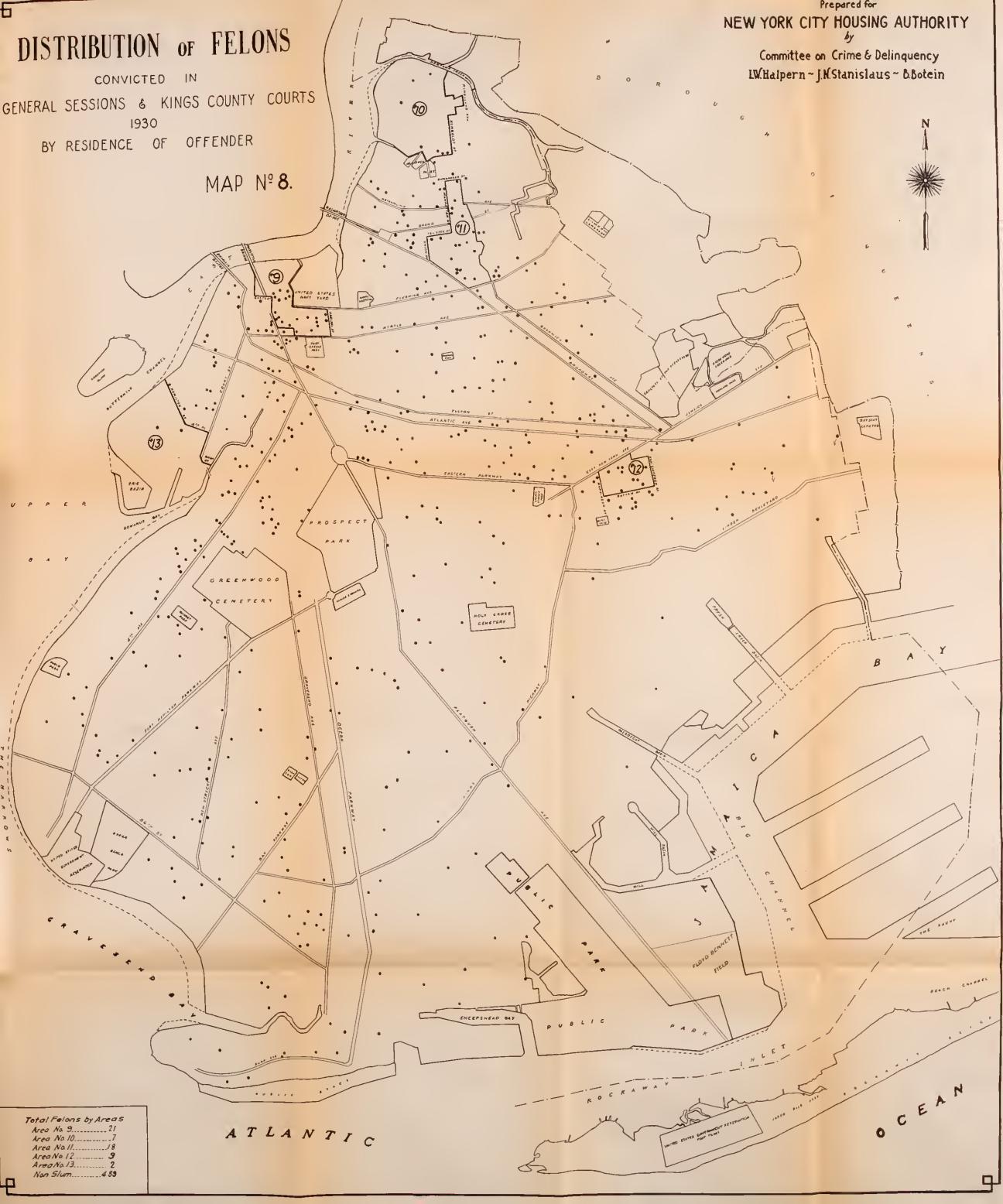
"The greatest potential possibility of the neighborhood playground lies in its informality and freedom of access. These features should make a powerful appeal to the gang type of boy, provided the leadership and the program can be made sufficiently attractive to him. He requires stirring adventure, keen competition with other groups, and something which he may identify as his own property. In the middle west, a small town playground has capitalized this gang spirit by allowing boys' gangs to erect their own huts on the playground. Here they meet and play under the nominal supervision of the playground director." (44)

Commercial Amusements. A second salient finding is the extent to which children and adolescents in substandard areas are dependent upon commercial amusement centers for recreation. Such places, of course, are licensed. As business ventures, however, they represent an economic and not a socialized approach to the recreational problem. The consequence is that a desire for quick profits often predominates over all other considerations, especially a regard for the social and moral welfare of children.

Poolrooms are almost three times as numerous as playgrounds in the substandard areas. With pool playing and with many poolrooms, there is no quarrel. It is against the small and obscure poolroom, frequently encountered in the slums, that sociologists and welfare workers have leveled their criticisms. Mostly, these center around the acknowledged fact that such poolrooms are "hang-outs" for loafers, petty gamblers and criminals.

During his study of gangs in Chicago, Thrasher found that fifty-two of them used poolrooms as their meeting

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Crime and The Community, A Study of Trends in Crime Prevention by the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime. New York State Crime Commission, Albany, 1930, pp. 108 and 109.





places. (45) The New York State Crime Commission, as the result of a study of environmental factors in juvenile delinquency in this city, arrived at the following conclusion about the socially undesirable type of poolroom:

"Although the facts seem to establish a relationship between poolrooms and delinquency, the reason for this would not be that the game of pool is in any direct way a source of misbehavior. It is true that it sometimes is an incitement to petty gambling, but that alone hardly suffice to produce serious delinquency. The poolroom, however, serves as a natural center and meeting place for those boys and men who have acquired a quizzical attitude toward churches, social centers, and other places of 'uplift.' Its regulations are few. One may not sit upon the table, nor indulge in any rough-house that will destroy property. Otherwise, free and easy manners prevail and one may use obscene language and tell dirty stories. In this free and easy atmosphere, it is very easy for the fixed anti-social attitude of the older yegg, gunman, loufer or constitutional psycopath to be carried across to young, impressionable lads who have themselves had difficulties in adjusting to the rigid demands of conventional society. " (46)

From the limited aspects briefly touched upon, it is apparent that nowhere are recreational facilities more urgently needed than in the slums. Repeatedly it has been said that playgrounds are cheaper to build than reformatories. To say this, is not to assume that delinquency is attributable, in the last analysis, to the absence of

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Frederic M. Thrasher, op. cit., p. 95.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ A Study of Environmental Factors in Juvenile Delinquency. A Report of the New York State Crime Commission, Albany, 1928, p. 69.

adequate play space. Wholesome and properly supervised recreation, however, is a powerful ally in checking delinquent behavior.

The longer we tolerate social conditions that help to foster delinquent behavior, the more problems we heap up for ourselves and for the coming generation. Actually we beget the criminal of tomorrow. Common sense, along with a sense of economy, dictates that if we are to reduce our criminal population, bigger and more vigorous steps than any we are now taking are vitally necessary.

The slum clearance project gives promise of being one such step. As it replaces outmoded dwellings with modern housing and provides large sized, suitably equipped and properly supervised playgrounds, it also becomes an effective social weapon in the warfare against crime.

FEMALE OFFENDERS - C

TOTALS	TO	٠ ١	2	3	4	5
3, 106	FROM					
MAN. 80R. 2,091 8KM. BOR. 648 M.S. TOT. 1,177 B.S. TOT. 95	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8 8 9	172 2 2 2 2 1 6 4	10 2	2 1 60 2 1 2 1 4	2 14 66 2 3	1
H. H. S. TOT. 914	12			1 1	1	
B. N. 3. TOT. 553 N. R. TOT. 367	MS BS MNS BNS NR	17 51 3 23	3 8 3 3	. 9 8 20 9	21 3 35 15 19	:
HOBILITY	TOTAL	94	17	57	93	1

PETTY OFFENDERS - COI

TOTALS	TO	I	2	3	4	5
40,026	FROM					
MAN DOD		574		c	4.0	4.1

TABLE XVI MOBILITY OF OFFENDER GROUPS

MANHATTAN AND BROOKLYN - 1930

FEHALE OFFENDERS - CONVICTED IN WOMEN'S COURTS

				OFFENDER			TICTED II													
TOTALS S, 106	TO FROH	• 1	2	S		5	8	7	8	8A	9	10	11	12	13	H. S.	8.5.	H. N. S.	B. R. S.	GRANO TOTAL
HAN. BOR. 2,091	1 2	172	10	2	2	2			3			1				8	1	44	2	
BKM. BOR.	S	2 2	2	60	14	1	2 1						1		1	5 18 8	2	6 12 22	2 2	227 23 94 96
848 M.S. TOT.	5 8 7	1		1	3	10	114		1 4	1			1			3 11	- 71	5 29	1 2	96 19 157
1, 177	8 8 A	6		2			6 4		381 8	33	1					17 17	1	36 72	4	439 122
8. S. TOT. 95	9 10 11 .			1 1	1				1		29	. 8	10			5 2 2		2	16	521
H. H. S. TOT. 914	13			1 1	1								10	3	2	2		1 2	3	11 18 9 5
8. M. S. TOT. 553	HS 8S	17	3	. 9	21	4	13		16 1	4	1	1	2		1	9 33	5 53	226 9	13 21	1.177
N.N. TOT. \$87	HKS BKS NR	51 3 23	8 3 3	20 9 11	35 15 19	2	12 3 10		40 5 7	7 7 5	39 9	1	3	2	1	175 45 80	1 45 16	732 73 229	390 42	914 553 367
HOBILITY	TOTAL	94	17	57	93	8	38	0	69	23	50	3	9	3	3	312	67	537	82	3,106
		P	ETTY O	FFENDERS	-	CONA	CTED IN	HAGIS	STRATES'	COURTS										
TOTALS	TO	3	2	3	4	5	6	7	3	BA	9	10	11	11	13	M. S.	B. S.	M. H. S.	B. H. S.	GRAND
40,026	FROM																			TOTAL
MAN. BOR. 20,388	2 \$	574 11 34	12 342 3	5 23 846	10 12 113	10 5 8	12 1 34	1	19 2 16	12	3	6	3	5	1	80 54 251	10 15	652 278 1.241	13 34	1.319
8KM. BOR. 18,510	\$ 5	14 4 20	23 4 8	3 8	485	19 189	34 21 19 994	1 15	10 10	1 115	í					161 44	1	713 185	135 40 9	2,488 1,400 427
H.S. TOT. 10,770	7 8	21	16	3 6	2	1 1	159	5	695	66	3		1	2	1	305 17 285	3	648 10 598	19 1 26	1,969 33 1,610
B.S. TOT.	BA 9 10	12	12 5 2	3	3	1	47 2 1		2	333	127	1 121	1		1	142 14 5	1 3 15	324 21	6 92	806 257
H. H. S. TOT.	11	1 1	3	2	2				i		2	14	148	155		9	16	23	103 103	209 298 334 188
9,618 8.W.S. TOT.	IS HS	116	110	124	152	66	306	37	1 222	206	12	11	4	7	79	5,802	36	4,649	283	188
12, 224 H. R. TOT.	BS HNS BNS	363 89	174 68	7 203 109	208 45	115	486 35	14	306 29	154	5 19 177	15 12	14 2	276	1 3 50	2,103	36 665 38 703	78 7,251 1,327	512 226 9,791	1.286
8,128	NR	217	122	172	130	10.	349	7	194	80	19	9	139	1	5	1,347	50	3.975	756	12,224 6,128
MOBILITY	TOTAL	789	484	695	538	276	1,179	58	755	449	232	108	175	286	61	3,884	827	10,029	1,777	40,026
		Н	IISDEHE	AHANTS	- C	ONVIC	TED IN GE	ENERAI	L SESSIO	IS, KII	IBS COL	JHTY an	d SPEC	IAL SE	ESSION	S COURTS	S			
TOTALS	TO FROM	1	2	3	đ	5	6	7	¥	BA	9	t C	11	12	13	H. S.	B. S.	M. N. S.	8. N. 3.	GRAND TOTAL
HAN. BOR.	i i	235	6	2	2	4	3		3	4			1	П		24	1	146	3	413
6,053 RKN. BOR.	2 S q	21 12	64	235	2 23 116	1 5	4 4		5	3 1	1	2			2	21 64 40	4 1	55 149 108	6 32 13	147 484 278
3,706	8	15	2	1 4	9	57	271	1_2	20	18				1		73	2	51 166	9	116 521 11
H.S. TOT. 3, ₹60	8 8A	36 21	8	4 2	3 3	1 2	21 24		628	53 193		2	1			1 26 9 2	2	323 111	15	1,094
R.S. TOT. \$78	9 10 11	1	1	1		1		ш	1	2	4 1	37	13 51		1	1 5	6 4	8 9 13	48 12 31	109 65 104
H. M. S. TOT. 2,593	12					1							2	17	10	1	2	4	31 33 30	54 46-
B. W. S. TOT. 3, \$28	HS BS	115	28	32	44	19	62		1	81	1 5	5 3	2 5	1	2	2,257	11 175	1,112	80 154	3,460 378
N.R. TOT.	HKS BKS RR	145 35 68	45 25 22	34 48	28 16 35	20	52 6 37		118 21 53	45 8 24	45	17	44	5 20 5	6 1	512 151 299	16 132 . 15	1,989 573 1,095	2,472	2.593 3.328 1.620
HOBILITY	TOTAL	365	121	175	126	57	157	0	262	162	56	35	56	31	11	974	174	2,817	521	11,379
		, , , ,	ELONS	- 00	NVICTE	ED IN (EMERAL S	SESSI	DNS and I	CINES C	OUNTY	COURTS								
TOTALS	то	<u> </u>	2	3	ų	5	6	7	8	BA	9	10	11	121	13	H. S.	8.8.	H. N. S.	B. N. S.	GRAND
1,834	FROM																			TOTAL
HAN. BON. 1,048	2 9	22	6 2	28	1 16	1	1 1			1			3	ш	1	8 2 19	1	45 10 41	21	77 18 112
8KM. 80R. 546	5			1	22	3	1									3 20		21 5 29	9	52 11 82
H. S. TOT. 596	7 8	1		2	2	3	6	1	97	11			1	П		21	1	1 39	1	159
8. S. TOT.	8A 9	2		2	2		7		1.5	23	8	1		-		27	1	34 13 2	2	84 21 7
H. H. S. TOT.	11			2							1	-	?	1		2	1	6	7	18 9 2
452 B.N.S. TOT.	HS	8	3	7	24	4	16	1	18	19			4		1	328	5	225	38 14	596 57
489 M.M. TOT.	BS HKS BKS	23	5 5	2 14 8	19	3	8 3	2	24	11	2 2 11	2 6	1 2	1 4	1	109 29	6 24	26 303 111	34 325	452 489
240	MR	5	4	10	8	1 8	10	2	10	32	19		,	-	2	191	39	160 522	26 112	1,834
HOBILITY	TOTAL	38	17	41	59			3	33	12	19	8		5	-	101				
			CONSOL	IOATEO O	FFENOE	R BROU	75													ANTUA
TOTALS 56, 345	TO FROH	ı	2	S	4	5	6	7	8	8.4	9	10	11	12,	1.5	н. S.	8.3.	H. H. S.	B. M. S.	TOTAL
HAH. BOR.	1	1,007	20	11	14	17	16		25	17	2	1 7	1		1	120 82	3 11	887 349	19 42	2.036
29,580 8KN. BOR.	3 4	21 58 28	422 44 29	1,169 92	166	9 25	40 26	1	21 6	13	3 2	6	7	5	3	352 209	24 2	1,443 864 246	190 62 11	3,178 1,826 573
18, 410 H. S. TOT.	5 6 7	40	10	5 15	23	259 27 - 2	1,406 14	16	137	141	1	1	2	1	1	57 409 21	6	872 14	36 2	2,729 45
18,003	8 8A	64 39	24 13	9 11	5 8	5 3	192 82	17	1,601	133 582	1	2	2	2		449 278 24	10 1 5	996 541 44	46 6 156	3.302 1.408 439
8. S. TOT. 1, 818	9 10 11	3	5 2 4	8 3 5	1 4	1	2 2		1 2	2 2	210 7 5	167 16	15 211		1 1	9 18	22 22	35 44	59 143	292 438 406
H. N. S. TOT. 13,577	12	i		1 2	2	1					1		2	176	91	5 2	1 2	16 11	208	241
8. N. S. TOT. 16, 594	HS BS	257 5	144	172 19	241	93	397	38	325	310	14	17	12	8	6 2 4	9,320 58 2,899	57 907 61	6,212 150 10,275	414 701 342	16.003 1.816 13.577
M.M. TOT. 8,855	HHS BKS HR	582 129 313	232 101 151	376 160 241	290 86 192	140 23 91	558 47 406	7	488 58 264	217 24 111	25 272 33	21 84 14	188 24	302	58 7	628 1.776	904 85	2.084 5.459	12,978	16.594 8,355
HORILITY	TOTAL	1 286	639	968	-			61	1 141	666	25.7		246	226	77	5,361	1.107	13.905	2.492	56.345

1.286

639

968

816

349

1,412

61

1,141

666

357

77

5.361

1.107

325

154

TOTAL

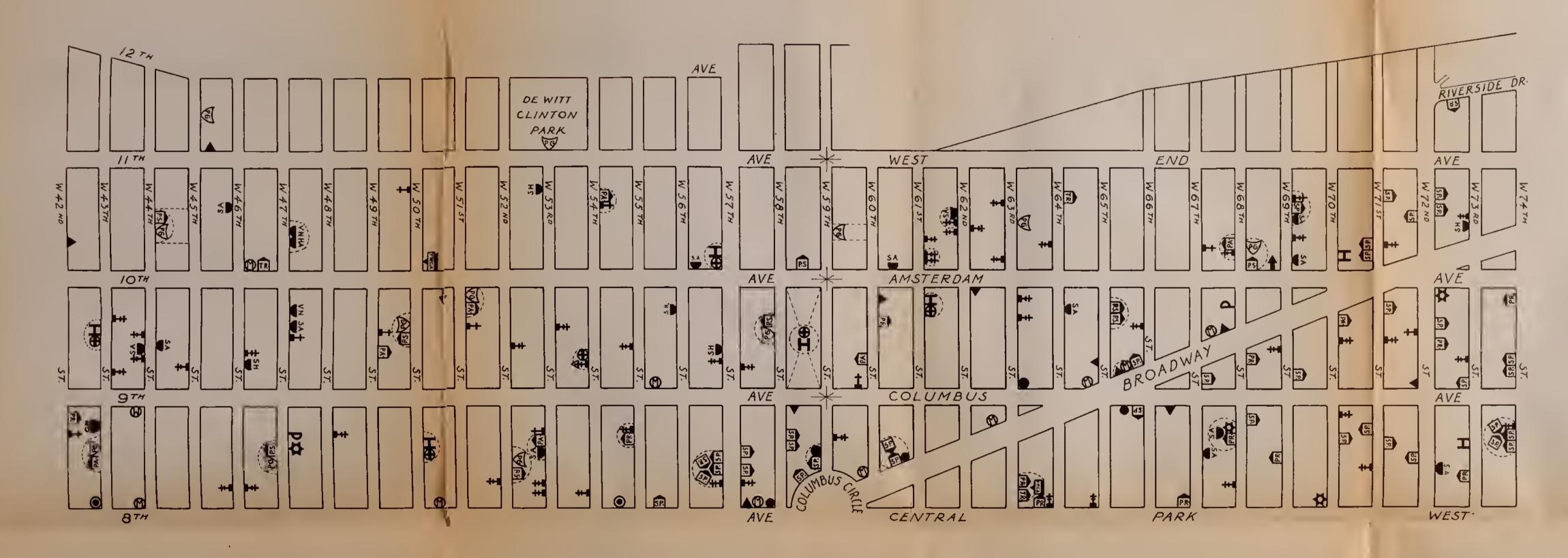
HOBILITY

AREA Nº 1



HUDSON

RIVER



	—≡ LEG	ΕN	/D ==-	i
1	MOVIE 11	Ť	LIBRARY	2
	POOL ROOM 11		WELFARE AGENCIES	
•	DANCE HALL 5	5.H	SETTLEMENT HOUSE	5
•	ARCADE 2	CN	CHILD WELFARE AGENCY	1
Pa	PLAY GROUND 12	S.A.	SOCIAL AGENCY1	3
	SCHOOLS	V.N.	VISITING NURSE	2
P.S.	PUBLIC SCHOOL 9	HA	HEALTH AGENCY	1
FA	PAROCHIAL SCHOOL 8			
PR	PRIVATE SCHOOL 12	H	HOSPITAL	7
TR	TRADE SCHOOL 3		CLINIC	6
SP	SPECIAL SCHOOL38	YMCA	Y. M. C.A	I
1	GREEK CHURCH 1		Y W. C.A.	1
I	CATHOLIC CHURCH10	THEF	Y. M. H A	
Ŧ	PROTESTANT CHURCH 48		Y W.H.A	
*	SYNAGOGUE 4	P	POLICE STATION	2

SOCIAL BASE MAP



AREA Nº 2









AREA Nº 4



=LEGEND.= PLAY GROUND. SCHOOLS. PUBLIC SCHOOL 18 PAROCHIAL SCHOOL 12 PRIVATE SCHOOL .. 1 TRI TRADE SCHOOL ... 2 SPECIAL SCHOOL 7 GREEK CHURCH..... 6 CATHOLIC CHURCH ... 13 PROTESTANT CHURCH 18 SYNAGOGUE......37 A LIBRARY. WELFARE AGENCIES. SETTLEMENT HOUSE ... 15 CHILD WELFARE AGENCY ... 13 SOCIAL AGENCY......22 VISITING NURSE..... 1 HEALTH AGENCY..... 2

⊕ CLINIC......20

Y.M.H.A...

Y.W.H.A....

POLICE STATION 2

SOCIAL BASE MAP





SCHOOLS

PUBLIC SCHOOL

PRIVATE SCHOOL

TRADE SCHOOL

1 SPECIAL SCHOOL

\$ GREEK CHURCH.....

SYNAGOGUE....

CATHOLIC CHURCH_ 6 THAT Y. M. H.A.

PROTESTANT CHURCH 12 Y. W.H.A.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOL ... 3

6 HEALTH AGENCY

CLINIC

Y. W. C.A...

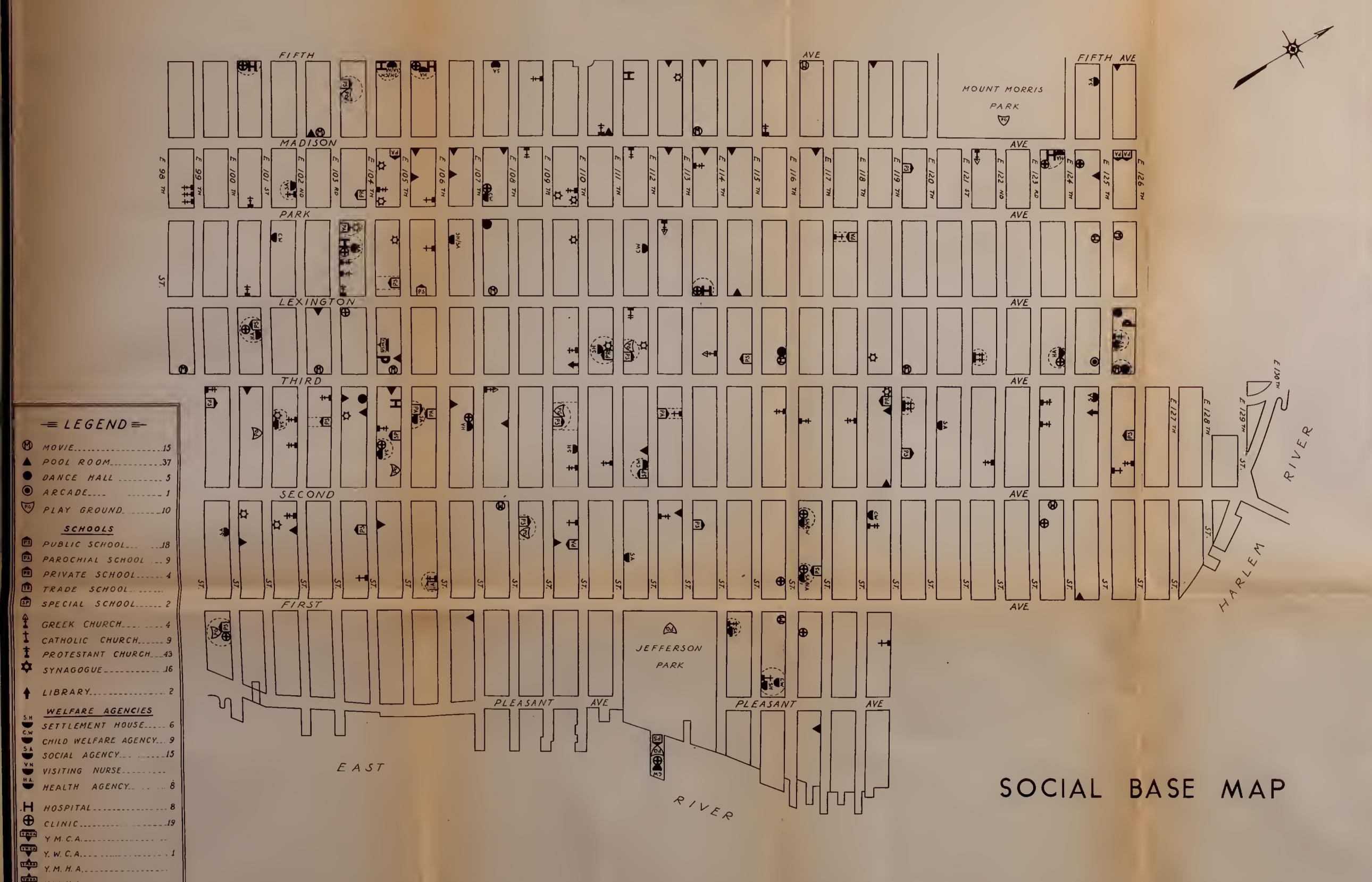
Y. M. C.A.

2 P POLICE STATION.....

H HOSPITAL 3

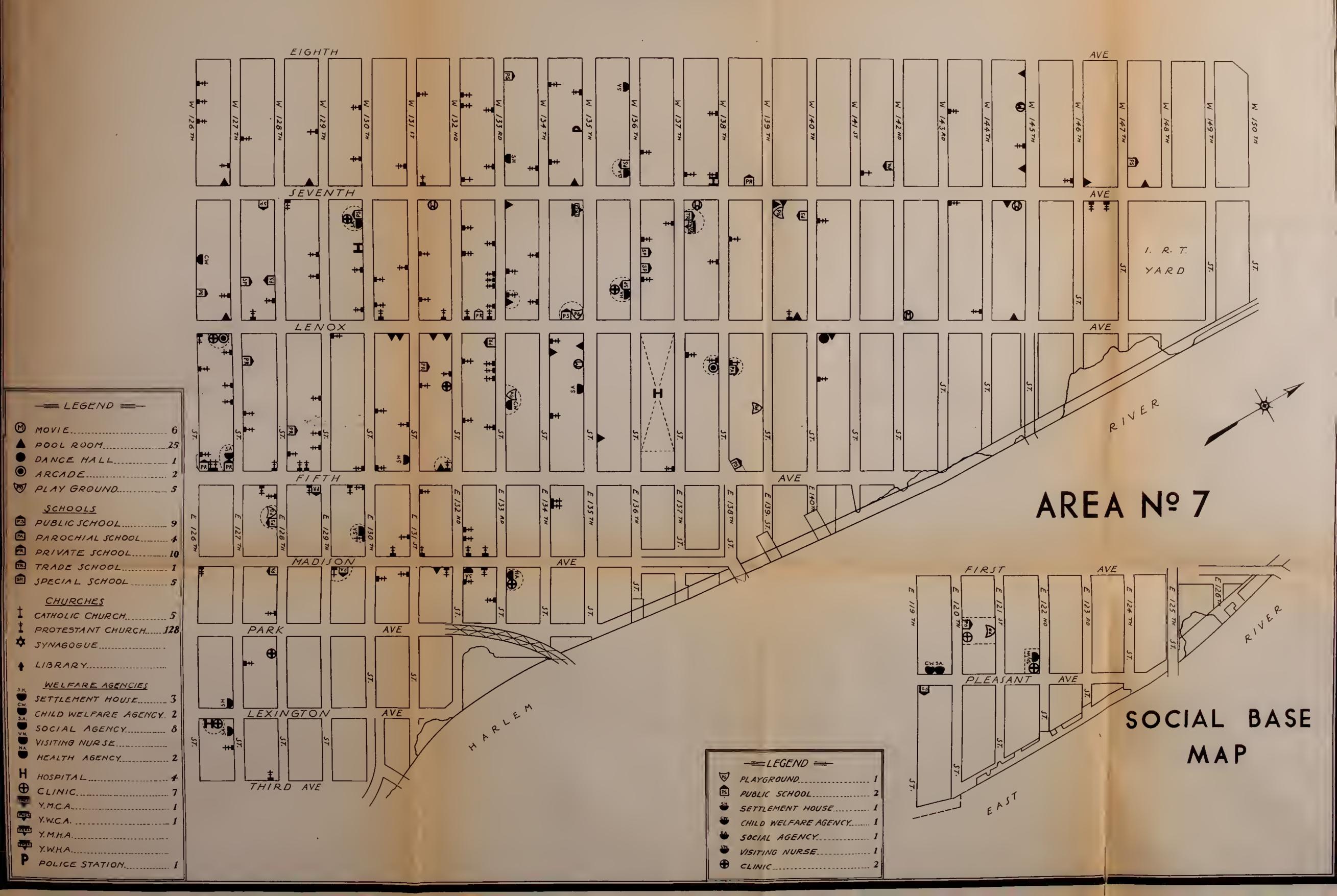
SOCIAL BASE MAP





POLICE STATION 2











SCHOOLS

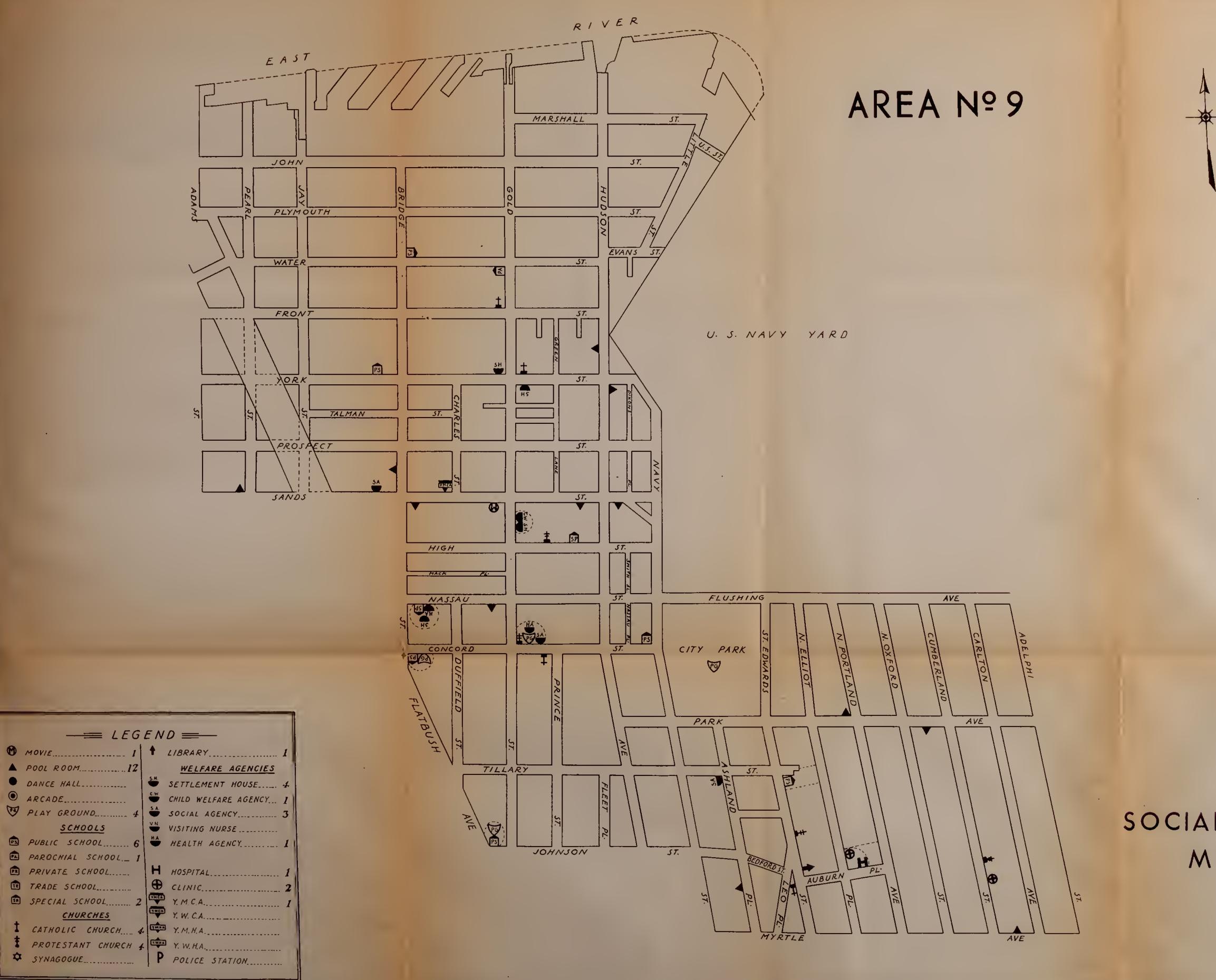
CHURCHES

H HOSPITAL 4

P POLICE STATION 1

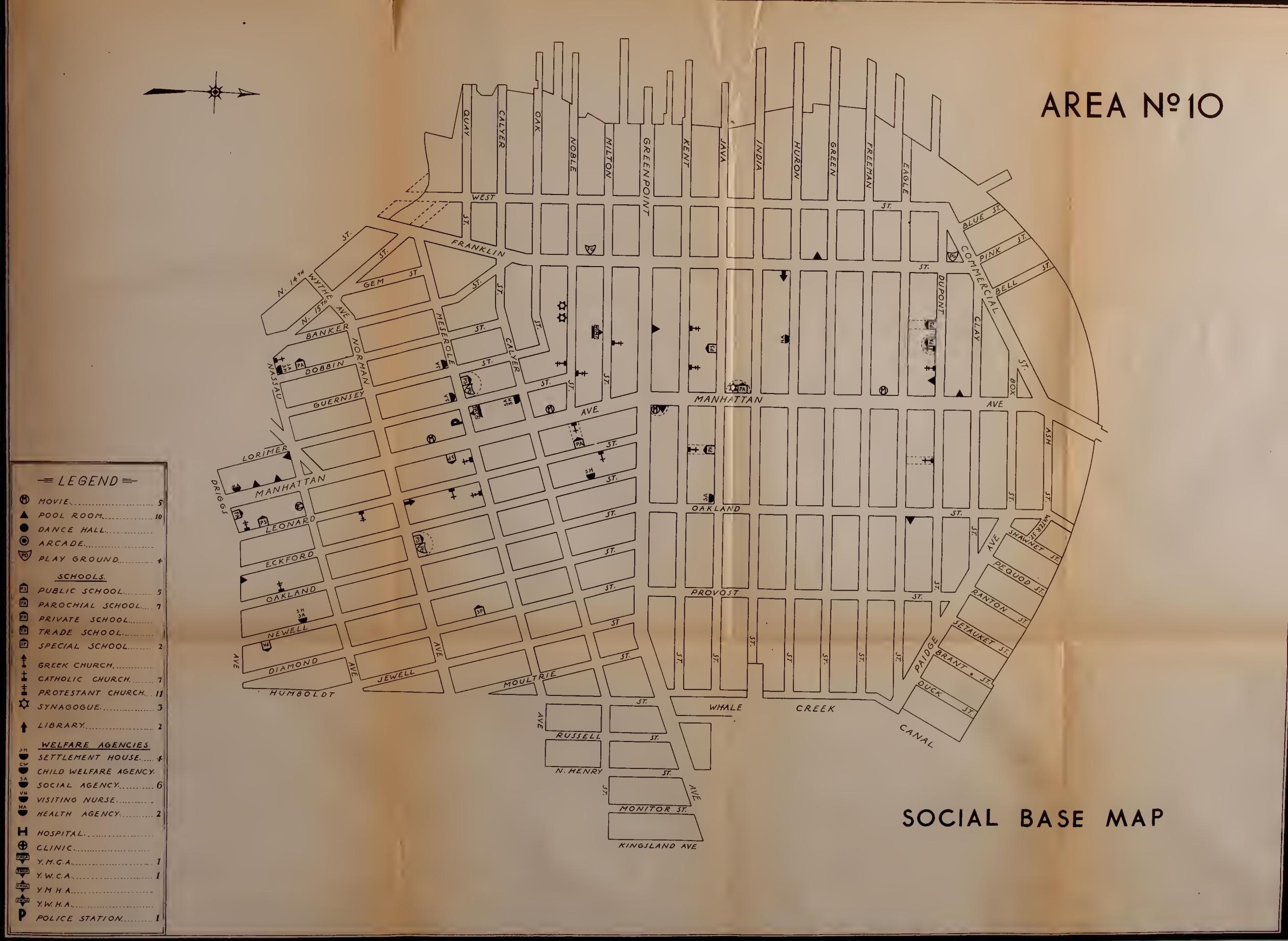
SOCIAL BASE MAP



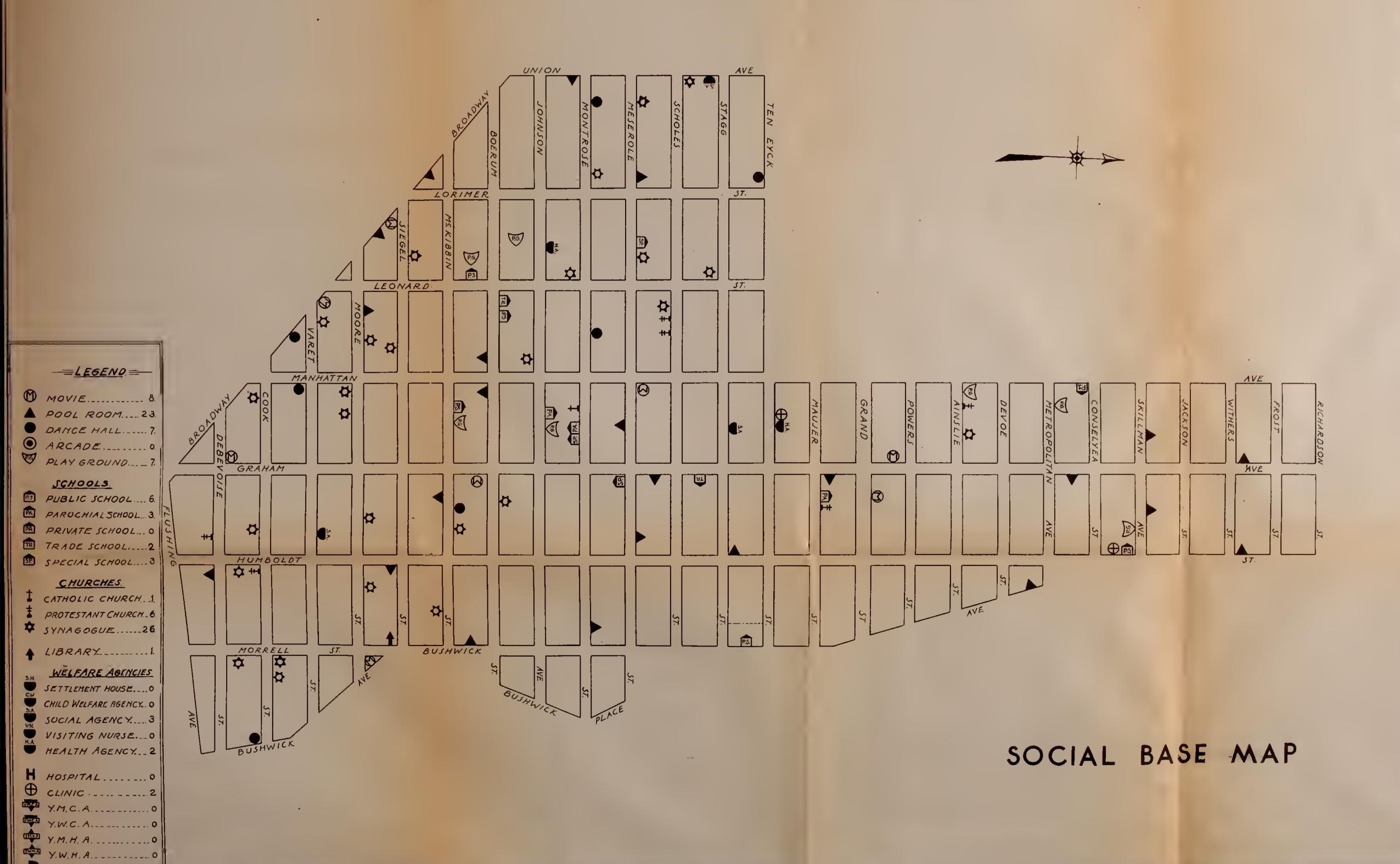


SOCIAL BASE MAP









POLICE STATION 0







PLAY GROUND .. SCHOOLS PUBLIC SCHOOL PA PAROCHIAL SCHOOL ... PRIVATE SCHOOL .. TRADE SCHOOL ... SPECIAL SCHOOL CHURCHES I CATHOLIC CHURCH..... FROTESTANT CHURCH.... 3 ↑ LIBRARY______1 WELFARE AGENCIES VN. VISITING NURSE..... HA HEALTH AGENCY 1 H HOSPITAL

P POLICE STATION

= LEGEND =

SOCIAL BASE MAP







APPENDIX A.

A LIST

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TABLE XVII DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDER GROUP BY HEALTH AREAS MANHATTAN AND BROOKLYN - 1930

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JUVENILE FEMALE PETTY OFFENOERS MISOEHEAMANTS FELONS	6 4 71 41 5	13 85 27 7	52 24 1	7 85 24 2	9 17 132 51 6	6 13 99 37 3				17 30 161 79 7	42 62 353 196 32	171 96	413 191	326 189	11 28 97 35 11	25 51 368 187 45	22 59 538 309 22	42 11 216 90 8	23 28 198 57 13	23) 104	3 319 1 56	95	118	21 7	3 24 7 248 7 71	31 389 74	123	278	215 44
TOTAL	127	135	90	118	215	158	295	538	799	294	685	325	787	763	182	676	950	367	319	437	483	187	256		-	-	-	├	
		1				- ,	-т							1							_								
	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	₹8	49	50	51	52	53	54	56	56	57
JUVENILE FEMALE PETTY OFFENOERS MISOEMEAMANTS FELONS	21 12 209 40 6	28 20 75 50 8	8 41 160 43 6	12 36 211 56 19	31 17 126 64 12	29 109 33 3	8 32 219 47 13	2 9 162 19 4	13 9 201 45 15	17 9 116 28 5	19 54 119 67 13	9 47 310 85 21	2 10 90 5	97 55	19 7 74 34 3	2	5	42 261 98	440	228	9 11 3 163	264 33	27 59 438 90 33	1, 236 300	25 320 44	17 248 35	40 648 149	37 513 129	14 19 660 56
TOTAL	288	181	258	334	250	176	319	196	283	175	272	472	108	168	137	112	191	429	745	331	215	325	647	1,657	405	319	886	723	763
	58	59	60	61	62	83	64	65	66	67	88	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	00	JATOT NATTAKNAM					
JUVENILE FEMALE PETTY OFFENOERS MISOEMEANANTS FELONS	17 26 238 53 13	19 17 159 47 7	49 11 172 42 6	8 10 226 29 5	27 26 315 86 11	34 8 101 24 6	12 15 237 54 7	15 19 239 38 5	19 9 122 19	26 10 122 26 8	17 6 214 43 6	19 10 225 83 23	13 7 393 58 12		17 13 183 28 9	12	66	20 10 365 117 24	22 8 155 28 12	1,237 254	3 10 7 325 1 80	170 21	21 11 122 37 11			2,0 20.3 6.0	91 88 53	•	
TOTAL	347	249	280	278	465	173	325	316	178	192	286	360	483	398	250	108	444	5 36	225	1.554	453	216	202		_				
	1	2	3	4	5	8	7	8	9	10		•	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20 3	21 2	2 2	3 24	25	26	27	28	29
JUVENILE FEMALE PETTY OFFENGERS MISCEMEANANTS FELONS	4 75	162 25	6 1 2 1 3 1	178 57	123 53	15	10.7	8 7 2 121 3 42	7 10	4 6: 5 42: 3 13:	1 5 1 28 4 12	8 2 2 5	31 299 71	11 26 81	8 244 94	8 139 148	57	8 76 52	17 105 40	117 2	200 1 50	31 2	0 2 3 46 27 8	5 20 7 21 4 359 2 85	1 27	9 257 80	22 224 37	6 175 88	103 35
TOTAL	125	213	178	321	218	224	219	9 194	4 17	1 67	8 49	3 4	13 2	233	394 2	40 3	305	174	203	178 2	75 1	60 10	1 60	3 494	178	370	318	291	175
	30	31	32	33	34	95	36	37	38	38	1 40	<u> </u>	• 1	42	43	44 (4.5	46	47	48	49 1	50 5	1 5:	63.	1 53	2 1	. S	5 11	55 2
JUYENILE FEMALE PETTY OFFENOERS MISDEMEANANTS FELONS	6 112	109 43	17 4 82 37	13 3 47 35	87 29	39 20	18	4 20 1 3 3 126 2 49	0 1	4 1 7 4 2 1	5 3 0 2 7 33 7 14	7 2 0 2	20 10 32 57	23 1 312 43	32 6 206 37	28 .5 307 57	9 1 82 14	15 5 120 31	22 3 113 26	12 4 109	4 5 71 30	8 2 4 86 12	26 2 1 25 13 26 3	5 4 8 3	6 1 72 5	4 1 47 14	10 3 92 33	9 2 58 23	11 4 90 17
TOTAL	190	198	146	101	147	72	27	7 203	3 11	7 7:	1 53	9 3	23 3	91 2	90 4	14 1	07	177	172	161 1	11 1	28 18	2 20	5 9	7	67 1	41	97	123
	56 9	57 5	8. 1	58. 2	59	80	61	82	63	64.	1 64	. 2 6	4.3	65	66	\$7	86	89 7	70 7	1. 1 7	1. 2	72.1	72.2	7.1	73	2 78	1 7	2 1.	75.1
JUYENILE FEMALE PETTY OFFEMOERS MISOEMEANANTS FELONS	6 245 31	63 9 42 64	8 0 49 11	15 2 125 15	59 8 448 56	282 36	188 35	28 3 99 37	10 0 145 25		+	15 1 48 25	1 0 2 2	30 7 281 48	20 4 174 34	20 0 140 16	15 1 65 15	15 4 60 14	9 4 84 13	6 2	16 1 43	2 0 54	3 2	3	3	3 1 7	2 0 47	2 0 28 9	11 0 45
TOTAL	297 5	89	70	160	585	339	269	170	184	7	7	96	5	367	240	178	100	94 1	13	41	72	81	46	62	5	0	89	45	65
	75.2	76	77	78.	1 78	. 2 7	9 80	0. 1 8	30. 2	81.	1 0 1,	. 2 1	82	83 8	4 85	. 1 6	5.2	66, 1	86.	2 87.	1 87	2 88	. 1 8	8. 2 8	9 9) 9	BKI	H. T/	OTAL
JUYENILE FEMALE PETTY OFFEROERS MISOEMEANAGTS FELOGS	10 0 53 7	8 2 78 15	16 2 87 24	5	7 2 3 9	5 1 1 25 3	20 1 70 27	39 3 62	16 2 51 21	20	5 2	25 3 55	33 6 58 27	50 1 2 61 6	5 2 0 6	10 0 45	8 5 65 9	23 1 55 29	3	0	4 1	20 0 72 18	8 1 50	8 3 74 13	2 6 1 1 0 28 3 5	9 7 3 4 2 1	1 0 1	2,08 64 13.51 3,70	33 48 10 06
TOTAL	72	110	131	7	1	40 12	26 1	122	91	9:		96 1	32 1	25 9	6	73	93	117	11	8 6	6 1	13	91	101 1	9 42	5 12	4 7	20.49	93
		1		1	AMMA	TTA	1 101	TAL	BR	OOKL	YN T	OTAL	N	NON RESIDENTS				AND	TOTAL										

JUVENILE FEMALE PETTY OFFENOERS MISOEMEANANTS FELONS

TOTAL

1.577 2,091 20.388 6.053 1.048

31,157

2,083 648 13,510 3,706 546

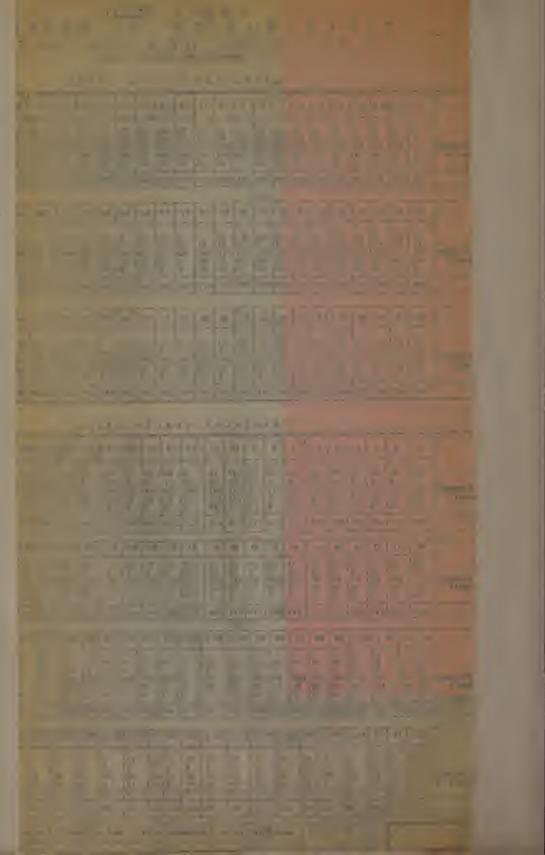
20,493

83 367 6.128 1.620 240

8.438

3, 743 3, 106 40,026 11,379 1,834

60.088



ERRATA

PAGE XI #29 to read:

"Frequency of Misdemeanants and Petty Offenders in the 16-20
Age Group."

PAGE 104 Table #39 to read:

"Nativity of Brooklyn Offenders."

PAGE 164 #57 to read:

"Annual Reports of the Probation

Department, Court of General

Sessions, 1931 & 1933."

